MAY, 1937

THE CRISIS

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(He drove his anti-lynching bill through the House—See page 138)

LAST OF FREE AFRICA

George Padmore

The Menace of Sterilization

Elaine Ellis

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Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan, New York

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NEXT MONTH

The series on Abyssinia by George Padmore will be continued next month with an article entitled "Abyssinia Betrayed by the League of Nations."

•

There will be also a story "Of the Character of Courage" dealing with a problem of the color line in a middle-western city.

•

We expect to present a piece discussing the Negro in future political trends in this country by a new writer, David Cartwright.

•

In an early issue will appear a sketch of Coretti Arle-Titz, a colored concert artist in Soviet Russia. The sketch is by Chatwood Hall who has done several articles for THE CRISIS.

•

In an early issue also will appear an article on Richard Allen by Miles Mark Fisher.

•

The August issue, as has been the custom for many years, will be devoted to news pictures and articles of Negro college graduates. Material for this issue should reach THE CRISIS office not later than July 1.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

George Padmore is a free lance writer who has spent several years in Europe and is now living in London. He has done two other articles for THE CRISIS on Ethiopia.

•

Elaine Ellis lives in the South and is deeply interested in the economic plight of the Negro.

•

William Pickens is director of branches of the N.A.A.C.P. Following his successful lecture tour of West Virginia, Mr. Pickens was invited to spend a month in the state of Washington lecturing on a similar forum project and for this he was given a leave of absence for the month of May by the N.A.A.C.P.

•

Anna Heifetz is assistant librarian in the Slavonic department of the New York public library.

Abyssinia—The Last of Free Africa

By George Padmore

"The people of Abyssinia are anxious to do right.... but throughout their history they have seldom met with foreigners who did not desire to possess themselves of Abyssinian territory and to destroy their independence."

—Emperor Haile Selassie in a note to the League of Nations, dated June 9, 1926.

This is the first of a series of articles on Africa and its problems in relation to western world politics

BEFORE discussing the political circumstances which made it possible for Italy to launch her barbarous attack upon Abyssinia, it is necessary to review the historical relations of this ancient African kingdom with Western Europe. Such a background is essential for a clear understanding of how it came about that England, France, the so-called defenders and champions of "Collective Security," betrayed this country to a Fascist power. The answer is that Abyssinia, as we shall show, has always been a pawn in European diplomacy, and as such, has been sacrificed in the interests of Imperialism.

Italy Turns to Abyssinia

Although Abyssinia had had contact with Europe as early as the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese came to her aid in her struggle against Islamic invaders, it was only during the 'nineties of the last century, when the great European Powers were scrambling for territories in Africa, that the West began to take a great interest in Abyssinia.

It was during this period that Italy, thwarted in her first attempt to obtain a footing in North Africa, thanks to the annexation of Tunis by France, turned towards Abyssinia.

The Italians first established themselves at Assab on the Red Sea. Later on, encouraged by England, at that time the bitter colonial rival of France, Italy began to set up garrisons at various points along the coast north of Assab, in order to prevent France from extending her influence along the Red Sea. In 1885 Massowa was annexed, and within two years the whole Eritrean littoral was under Italian occupation.

Utilising these bases as points of departure, the Italians gradually began to push inland, finally coming into conflict with the Abyssinians, who at that time occupied the hinterland of Eritrea. This attempt of the Italians to annex Abyssinian territory met with defeat when an Italian garrison was slaughtered by the Tigreans, at Dogali, in January, 1887. Defeated in their first attempt to get a foothold in Abyssinia proper, the Italians, without abandoning their designs, turned their attention southwards and established a protectorate over the territory now known as Italian Somaliland. There they entrenched themselves, waiting for a favourable opportunity to begin again from where they had been forced to leave off in 1887. Two years later such an opportunity presented itself.

In that year, Menelik, Ras of Shoa, was plotting to make himself Negus Negisti (King of Kings) of Ethiopia after the death of the Emperor Johannes, who had been killed in the war against the Dervishes. This brought about a dynastic quarrel between the Shoas and the Tigreans. In order to win the favour of Menelik, the Italian government offered to support his cause against Ras Mangosha, the illegitimate son of Johannes. The Italians supplied Menelik's army with five thousand rifles, in return for which Menelik signed a convention, known as the Treaty of Ucciali, on May 2, 1889, granting the Italians extensive territorial concessions in Eritrea, which later became an Italian colony.

In Article 17 of the Amharic version of the treaty, Menelik stated that "His Majesty the King of Kings of Ethiopia, *may, if he desires to,* avail himself of the Government of His Majesty the King of Italy for any negotiations he may enter into with the other Powers or Governments." But in the Italian version, the words *"may, if he desires to,"* were changed to read, that the Emperor "consents to avail himself," etc. The Italian government in the meantime informed the English, French, German and Russian governments that Menelik was under obligation to use their good office in any diplomatic dealings with them.

When Menelik heard of this duplicity on the part of his erstwhile Italian allies, he became so indignant that he denounced the convention as a fraudulent attempt on the part of the Italians to establish a protectorate over his country. And in a note to Umbarto, King of Italy, he wrote: "When I made that treaty of friendship with Italy, in order that our secrets be guarded and that our undertaking should not be spoiled, I said that because of friendship, our affairs in Europe might be carried on with the aid of the Sovereign of Italy, but I have not made any treaty which obliges me to do so, and today, I am not the man to accept it. That one independent power does not seek the aid of another to carry on its affairs your Majesty understands very well."

Now it must be clearly understood that Italy was not acting alone in these underhanded attempts against the black monarch. She had the approval and full support of Britain, for at that time Italy was on bad terms with France because of her opposition to Italian imperialist expansion in North Africa. England on her part supported Italy in her designs upon Abyssinia because she was hostile to France's colonial ambitions, especially in the Nile valley. Britain therefore hoped to use Italy against France in furthering her plans in the Sudan, while at the same time assuring the Abyssinians with whom she had made an alliance against the Dervishes in 1884, that she entertained no unfriendly designs upon their country. After having used the Abyssinians as pawns in suppressing the Dervishes, who, flushed with victory over General Gordon at Khartoum in 1885, were overrunning the Sudan, England then dropped her black allies and began to scheme openly with the Italians against Abyssinia. Accordingly, England signed three agreements with Italy, defining their respective spheres of influence in Abyssinia. The first of these agreements was signed between the Marquis Dufferin and Arva for England and the Marquis di Rudini on behalf of Italy on March 24, 1891; the second was made a month later, on April 15, in Rome; and the third on May 5, 1894, between Sir Francis Clare Ford, British Ambassador in Rome, and Crispi.

"Vilest Treachery"

By the terms of these treaties which were naturally kept secret from Menelik, Italy agreed to allow Britain to secure a highland route through

Abyssinia for her Cape to Cairo railway, the dream of Cecil Rhodes, and further assured England that the waters of the Atbara would not be interfered with. England on her part agreed to allow Italy to annex the remainder of Abyssinia and pledged her support of the occupation of Kassala whenever she (Italy) desired to make such a move against Menelik. Commenting upon Britain's perfidy, A. B. Wylde, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul General for the Red Sea, in his book, *Modern Abyssinia,* writes: "Look at our behaviour to King Johannes from any point of view, and it will not show one ray of honesty, and to my mind, it is one of our worst bits of business out of the many we have been guilty of in Africa . . . . England made use of King Johannes as long as he was of any service, and then threw him over to the tender mercies of Italy, who went to Massowa under our auspices with the intention of taking territory that belonged to our ally, and to allow them to destroy and break all the promises England had solemnly made to King Johannes after he had faithfully carried out his part of the agreement. The fact is not known to the British public, and I wish it were not true for our credit's sake; but unfortunately it is, and it reads like one of the vilest bits of treachery that has ever been perpetrated in Africa. . . . ."

After the revocation of the Treaty of Ucciali, the Italian government began to adopt a policy of bullying Menelik into acceptance of Italy's protection. But the Emperor refused to be coerced. Events then began to move with great rapidity. Crispi, assured of the support of England, as well as Germany, to which country Italy became attached as a member of the Triple Alliance in 1882, decided to use force against Menelik.

Since Italy's European enemy was France, Menelik turned to that country for support. Furthermore, France was opposed to the Anglo-Italian agreements referred to above, which she considered as obstacles to her imperial aspirations in the Nile valley. For this reason she was bent on breaking them up, so as to humiliate Italy further in Africa and thereby weaken the Triple Alliance in Europe. Her first gesture towards Abyssinia was to refuse to recognize Italy's claim for a protectorate over that country. The French government later on sent a military mission to Abyssinia to train Menelik's warriors. France also supplied the Emperor with arms and ammunition to defend his country against Italy. But this was no altruistic affair. France, having gained the sympathy of Menelik, the Emperor granted a concession to a French company, La Compagnie Imperiale des Chemins de Fer Ethiopiens, to construct the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railway, thus laying the basis for French economic penetration into this part of Africa.

Italy Strikes But Loses

The Italians, led by General Baldisserra, launched the attack in 1896, but were completely routed. More than six thousand were killed in the battle of Adowa, while more than two thousand were taken prisoners, including two generals. Crispi expected aid from England, but as she always intended to use Italy and not to be used by her, the British government refused to help pull Italy's chestnuts out of the Ethiopian fire. In great indignation the Italian statesman protested to the Central Powers, accusing Britain of downright treachery. The expression "Perfidious Albion" was as frequently on the lips of Italians then as today. Italy also expected aid from the Central Powers. Commenting upon the bitterness of the Italians towards their allies, Baron Patti, the Austrian Ambassador in Rome, in a despatch to his government, cynically remarked, "I have already had to listen to Italian lamentations, in every key, that they have been the victims of the Triple Alliance." But despite all Crispi's wailings and appeals, none of Italy's tardy allies came to her rescue. Under these circumstances, the Italian government was compelled to pay Menelik an indemnity of two million dollars and recognise the independence of his country. Double-crossed by their friends and defeated by their enemies, all that was left for the Italians to do was to abandon for the time being the hope of colonial expansion in this part of Africa.

Ethiopia's prestige went up overnight. Menelik, the first black ruler to defeat a great white power, became the subject of discussion in every chancellory of Europe. All of the great powers were now jostling each other to win the favour of the Conquering Lion of Judah. Britain sent a mission to Abyssinia headed by Sir Rennell Rodd. France appointed one of her leading diplomats, M. Leonce Legarde, Governor of Jibuti, her minister at Addis Ababa. The Czar also sent special emissaries to the court of Menelik. The Russians became such favourites of the Emperor that some were commissioned as officers in his army. Even the Italians were not to be left out. With their tails between their legs, a delegation headed by Frederico Ciccodicolo came trying to ingratiate themselves into the favour of their conqueror.

We have more or less indicated the aims and objects of the three Western Powers in Abyssinia, namely, to impose their hegemony over the country. But what was the reason for the Czar's interest in Abyssinia? For Russia had never been an African power. The answer is revealed in the German secret documents dealing with this period, which disclose that had Italy succeeded at Adowa, Russia had planned to intervene, in order to establish a naval base on the Red Sea as a threat to Britain's route to India and the Far East. This plan had the support of France, and would certainly have brought about a war with England. In this respect Menelik certainly did Europe a good turn by licking Italy and postponing a world war for nearly two decades. Such were the political repercussions in Europe after the first Italo-Abyssinian war.

The terms of peace were embodied in the Treaty of Addis Ababa, signed in October, 1896. From now on the contest for the black pawn was between England and France.

England and France try

Between 1896 and 1905, imperialist conflicts over Africa were sharpened on all fronts—extending from Fashoda to Morocco. Italy having been eliminated by a knockout blow in the first grab at the pawn, England was now faced with a new political situation. She no longer had an ally. For the first time the British imperialists were thrown upon their own resources in a major contest. Faced with an unavoidable necessity, the British government decided to act as quickly as possible, in order to forestall the French in the Nile valley. With this object in view, the Foreign Office instructed Lord Cromer that Kitchener, then Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian Army—for England had been in occupation of Egypt since 1882—was to move into the Sudan and reoccupy Dongola, then under Turkish sovereignty. About the same time, France, free of all effective opposition against her from within the frontiers of Abyssinia, also decided to strike out for the Sudan. Two French expeditions were despatched on this mission, one force starting in the West from the French Congo, under Major Jean Baptiste Marchand; the other starting east from the Abyssinian plateau, under Captain Clochette. The forces were to make a convergent movement with Fashoda as their junction.

Menelik, still grateful for the aid which France had rendered him, and distrustful of England, the friend of his old rival, Italy, supplied several hundred warriors to the French eastern expeditionary force. On July 10, 1898, two years after the western column commenced its march, Marchand arrived at Fashoda on the Nile and planted the Tricolour. The other column never arrived. In the meanwhile,

(*Continued on next page*)

the British force under Kitchener desired to replace the Tricolour with the Union Jack, but the intrepid Marchand resisted. Finally a compromise was reached by hoisting the Egyptian flag, against which neither side could take objection, as England and France had always subscribed to the fiction that Egypt was independent. Thanks to this maneuver, both officers "saved face," made their bows to each other, after which Kitchener retired. But behind this façade of military courtesy, the diplomats at Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay were waging a veritable battle of words over Fashoda. National chauvinism led by the *Daily Mail*, swept over Britain and soon England and France were on the verge of war. Lord Salisbury demanded the recall of Marchand.

Finally, Delcasse, the then Foreign Minister of France, decided to give way in order not to alienate the support of England against Germany in the war of revenge which was the great obsession of French foreign policy—the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine. Marchand was instructed to retire. The galland soldier returned to Paris, where he was proclaimed a national hero.

Britain having won a decisive victory in the struggle for the headwaters of the Nile, established herself as the undisputed mistress of the Sudan. But soon she began to realize that her intransigeant attitude on the colonial front—against France in Africa, and Russia in Asia—had placed her in a position of complete isolation on the continent, where the system of alliances—the Triple Alliance on the one hand, and the Dual Entente on the other—had come into being. Without a friend in Europe, hated and despised in Asia and Africa, Britain, through Chamberlain, turned first to Germany and when Germany turned down her offer of an alliance, she began to make overtures to France, which were the prelude to that *"entente"* which the German diplomats had considered impossible.

While still distrustful of England, Delcasse nevertheless welcomed this opportunity of settling outstanding differences between his country and Britain, which laid the basis for the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904. The most significant of these agreements was the convention settling disputes between the two powers in Newfoundland, West and Central Africa and the New Hebrides in the South Seas; there was also a declaration concerning Siam and Madagascar; but most important of all was the bargain regarding Egypt and Morocco. France also came to terms with Italy by agreeing to let her filch the North African territories of Turkey, in return for her support against Germany. Such were some of the intrigues of secret diplomacy involving Africa in the course of the struggle to grab the grand prize—Abyssinia.

The three Western Powers—England, France and Italy—having at last arrived at an agreement over the sharing up of North Africa—Morocco for the French, Egypt for the British, Libya for the Italians—were now able to concert together over Abyssinia. Just as Italy had been eliminated in this tripartite contest over her defeat at Adowa, Russia, who had also been playing for high stakes at Menelik's court, now found herself in the same position. Discredited through her defeat by Japan in 1905, her European rivals could now afford to eliminate her as a party to this impending imperialist deal. So with the Asiatic Bear out of the way, the three occidental wolves drew up an agreement in 1906 outlining their respective spheres of interest in Abyssinia.

Terms of tripartite agreement

In this way Abyssinia was once more drawn into the orbit of European diplomacy. What were the terms of this agreement? The preamble states: "It being the common interest of France, Great Britain and Italy to maintain intact the integrity of Ethiopia, to provide for every kind of disturbance in the political conditions of the Ethiopian Empire, to come to a mutual understanding in regard to their attitude in the event of any change in the situation arising in Ethiopia . . ." The document then proceeds to define the interests of the three contracting parties as follows: "First, the interests of Great Britain and Egypt in the Nile Basin, more especially as regards the regulation of the waters of that river and its tributaries . . . . without prejudice to Italian interests mentioned in paragraph (2); second, the interests of Italy in Ethiopia (Abyssinia) as regards Eritrea and Somaliland (including the Benadir), more especially with reference to the hinterland of her possessions and the territorial connections between them to the west of Addis Ababa; third, the interests of France as regards the French protectorate on the Somali coast, the hinterland of this protectorate, and the zone necessary for the construction and working of the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railway."

In plain language, these three Powers simply agreed to divide Abyssinia as they had done North Africa as soon as the change in the *status quo* of the country favoured such a move. And to add insult to injury, the conspirators had the audacity to present a copy of their bargain to Menelik, who thanked them for their courtesy. The old man, having laid the basis of his Empire, passed away in 1913, leaving his throne to his grandson, Lij Yasu, who was later deposed by his Christian subjects, led by Emperor Haile Selassie, then known as Ras Tafari, who is the son of Ras Makonnen, Menelik's cousin, and hereditary Governor of Harar. He was also Governor of Harar before he became Regent in 1928. On the death of the Empress Zaudity, daughter of Menelik, Haile Selassie was crowned Negus Negisti in 1930. This brings us to the end of the second phase of the conspiracy of the West against this ancient kingdom.

When the World War broke out, Italy deserted her allies and adopted a position of neutrality. In 1915 she decided to join the Allied Powers, in return for a share in the colonial swag. According to the terms of the London Agreement of 1915, England and France promised that in the event of either Power increasing its colonial territory in Africa at the expense of Germany, those two Powers "agree in principle that Italy may claim some equitable compensation, particularly as regards the settlement in her favour of the questions relating to the frontiers of the Italian colonies of Eritrea, Somaliland and Libya, and the neighbouring colonies belonging to France and Great Britain."

While it is true that this secret treaty made no direct reference to Abyssinia, the failure on the part of the Allied Powers to carry out their promise to Italy was bound to affect Abyssinia, the only African territory not yet annexed, and as such a standing invitation to predatory capitalism, especially Fascism, the more ravenous manifestation of post-war Imperialism. Disappointed by the settlement of the Paris Peace Conference, Italy immediately turned her attention towards Africa, and in 1929 proposed a plan to England for mutual support in obtaining concessions in Abyssinia. Briefly, the following was the basis of the proposals: First, "In view of the predominating interests of Great Britain in respect of the control of the water of Lake Esana, Italy would support Great Britain's claim to construct a barrage on Lake Tsana 'within the Italian sphere of influence,' as defined in the Three Power Agreement of 1906; second, Italy would also support with the Abyssinian Government the British claim to construct and maintain a motor road between Lake Tsana and the Sudan; third, in return, Great Britain should support the Italian claim to construct and to run a railway from the frontier of Eritrea to the frontier of Italian Somaliland, running through Abyssinia to the West of Addis Ababa; and fourth, Italy would also claim an exclusive economic influence in the west

(*Continued on page* 146)

Sterilization: A Menace to the Negro

By Elaine Ellis

Rather than improve the condition of the masses of the people, society is turning to sterilization, this writer declares, and points out that the Negro American would suffer most under such a law

STERILIZATION of the Negro population of Bermuda Island, practically assured by the legislature, is the answer of British Imperialism to the desperate need of these toilers for relief from the wretched conditions under which they are compelled to live. The governor, who introduced the bill, used the discredited Malthusian theory to support his statement that the Negro population of the island is increasing so rapidly that it threatens to exceed its means of support.

The hideous scheme to sterilize this population has been concocted as a substitute for better wages, schools, hospitals, and other advantages to which it is entitled, declared Charles Alexander in the February issue of *The Negro Worker*. To supply these advantages, he wrote, "would be decidedly unprofitable to the imperialist robbers, it would result in a slight reduction of the huge tribute drawn yearly from the toil of the Negro masses of the island and shipped to England for the coffers of the overlords." Hence, the white Christian tourists who go to Bermuda may, in the Biblical manner, have eunuchs to wait on them.

Although the purpose of the measure is to prevent the birth of further offspring of this population except when desirable to the government, it also constitutes a serious menace to the present generation. Unless skilled surgeons perform the operations, and proper hospitalization is given to women who are forced to undergo them, the measure can result in the deaths of many of these island workers. Following an operation of this type, there is always danger of complications such as peritonitis, adhesions, ether anaesthesia, and nervous disorders.

In the case of a man, the operation, called vasectomy, is so simple that only a local anesthetic is required while convalescence is unnecessary.

But salpingectomy, the operation upon a woman, is equal to an appendectomy. Therefore, a certain risk of life is involved. A general anesthetic is usually administered to the patient. Hospitalization is necessary for a period of convalescence that may require from ten days to several weeks. Following convalescence, the patient must refrain from heavy work for some time.

It remains to be seen whether the Bermuda Negroes will receive such considerations as capable physicians and hospitilization.

If sterilization goes into effect in Bermuda, not only the Negro population, but that of the entire working class of every capitalist and Fascist country may face a similar danger. The British Empire is the first country to sponsor such an open attempt to use sterilization as an economic measure, but such attempts have already threatened in both Germany and the United States.

Suggested for Sharecroppers

Only a few months ago, when the steady increase in farm tenantry was receiving the first of its widespread publicity, Ex-Governor J. M. Futrell of Arkansas proposed sterilization for Negro and white tenants and sharecroppers of that state. Sterilization of "mentally deficient" tenant-croppers would be nothing but a disguise for Futrell's real intention to include the entire group if necessary. This is revealed in his statement: "The average sharecropper and tenant has the mentality of a 12-year-old child."

H. L. Mencken, who for many years posed as a liberal, is a recent advocate of sterilization. In the December issue of *The American Mercury*, he vehemently declared that the tenants and croppers are simply "test-tubes for hookworm cultures." Mr. Mencken drew the usual glorified picture of landlords striving to uplift their serfs from all the ignorance and poverty of the tenant system.

The German Act, which became effective January 1, 1934, has undoubtedly influenced the growth of sterilization in America and other countries as a possible method of alleviating the unemployment crisis. Ironically enough, the English newspapers bitterly denounced the German Act when Hitler declared compulsory sterilization for all persons "likely to become charges upon society and a menace to its well-being." It charged that the measure would be used as a political and racial weapon, especially against Jews and Negroes. Huxley and other well known English scientists at that time, in a protest against the use of science as a political weapon, denounced sterilization as a "psuedoscience."

Der Fuehrer was clever in his evasion of the charges made against him. The law, when made public, listed as candidates for sterilization the mentally deficient, insane people, sexual offenders, and other abnormal types who might be capable of transmitting their affliction to their offspring. Hitler was careful, as expected, to leave out any reference to "criminals." Moreover, he further evaded the issue by making secret the operations upon individuals condemned to be sterilized. Persons who reveal any information about these operations are punished with heavy fines or imprisonment.

Since the German edict, an increasing number of eugenists, educators, and public officials in our own country are beginning to advocate a more extended use for sterilization than its former limited practice as a therapeutic and eugenic measure. Despite the rapidly declining birth rate, they extoll sterilization as a method of economic social planning which would allow only the "self-sustaining" to propagate. As in the case of the Bermuda Negroes, this measure would protect the wealth and monopoly of the class in power at the expense of the lower classes.

One eugenist, Dr. J. H. Landman, has gone so far as to state that one-fifth of the population in the United States is "surplus" because it is dependent. Writing in *The Scientific American* six months after the German Act went into effect, Dr. Landman used words almost identical to those of Hitler in his statement: "It is no exaggeration. . . that there are 25,000,000 in the United States who are socially inadequate and who are a constant menace to our country and race." Dr. Landman reached his conclusion in a clever manner. He placed the unemployed in that large group of chronic dependents which include the mentally deficient, the insane, criminals, drug addicts, tuberculous persons, prostitutes, and the like.

For Those Without Automobiles

Dr. Thomas Nixon Carver, an economist, is a more recent proponent of sterilization. He has proposed that marriage be limited to couples able to afford automobiles. This would make illegitimate the children born into fami-

(*Continued on page* 155)

Anti-Lynching Bill Goes to Senate

SAFELY through the House of Representatives by a smashing vote of 277-119, the Gavagan federal anti-lynching bill goes now to the Senate. In the Senate the anti-lynching bill is the Wagner-Van Nuys measure, S. 1709. It is slightly different from the Gavagan measure, but has the same main provisions and the same objectives.

The rules of the Senate permit filibustering and this is the greatest danger faced by the bill. There are enough votes in the Senate to pass the bill if it can get to the floor. Even its bitterest opponents admit this. The day the Gavagan bill was passed by the House, the Washington *Post* reported:

"The momentum which the Gavagan bill had gathered in recent weeks was such that in some quarters last night it was predicted a vote may be had on anti-lynching legislation in the Senate. If such a vote occurs, Speaker Bankhead (Dem. Ala.) said yesterday, enactment of the bill into law is assured."

So that the main task in the Senate is to get the bill to the floor. Senator Frederick Van Nuys, of Indiana, and Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, sponsors of the legislation, are working toward that end. The importance of pressure from the people of the nation is greater now than ever before. The Senate must be impressed with the desire of the country for this law.

Already Senator Borah has announced his usual opposition to the bill. It is almost certain that several southern Senators will fight the bill every step of the way, even to leading a filibuster against it. Senator "Cotton Ed" Smith of South Carolina will surely rise and deliver once again his old-time oratory about "white womanhood." Senator Josiah Bailey of North Carolina probably will filibuster. Other southern Senators who, for one reason or another, did not filibuster against the Wagner-Costigan bill in 1935, may take the floor against this bill. These would include Senators Walter George, of Georgia, Pat Harrison and Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi. Senator Tom Connally of Texas, may filibuster, also.

> Fifteen years ago, in January, 1922, the House, then overwhelmingly Republican, passed the Dyer anti-lynching bill by a vote of 231-119. At that time the N.A.A.C.P. also led the campaign for this law under the secretaryship of James Weldon Johnson.

But these men will not have the united South behind them in their efforts to block the bill as they did years ago. Southern sentiment is changing. A growing number of daily newspapers in Dixie are favoring the bill and warning against a filibuster. The Burlington, N. C. *Times* for April 2 declares, for instance:

"It is distressing to see a paper of the prestige and influence of the Charlotte *Observer* taking a stand of applause for the southern Senators who, year by year, succeed in filibustering to death anti-lynching measures."

Numerous other newspapers, individuals and organized groups are showing increasing impatience with the filibuster and it may be that sentiment will be so strong against this tactic that it will be used sparingly, if at all.

One factor which the supporters of anti-lynching legislation could not have foreseen is the prolonged and bitter fight over the proposal of President Roosevelt to enlarge the United States supreme court. This fight has divided the congress sharply and it may affect the progress of the anti-lynching bill.

A Fighting Leader

In reviewing the fight in the House, the sponsor of the bill, Representative Joseph A. Gavagan, of New York, stands in the front of the picture. It was his belief in the legislation, his knowledge of House rules, his determination to get the bill through, and his smashing, uncompromising fight on the floor which carried on to victory.

He had his supporters and his aids, of course. He had mobilized public opinion behind him, but had he not had the skill and drive to make an aggressive fight he—and we—might never have won.

In the House, as in the Senate, the job was getting the bill to the floor. Gavagan and others knew they had at least 250 votes for their bill if and when it should come up. Standing like a rock in their path was Rep. Hatton W. Sumners, of Texas, chairman of the House judiciary committee. Sumners kept all anti-lynching bills buried in

Congressman McKeough says a word . . . Walter White adds one (or two) . . . and McKeough again speaks his mind . . .

committee. But Gavagan filed a resolution with the rules committee to get a special rule for his bill, taking it out of the judiciary committee. The rules committee did not act and, after a specified number of days, Gavagan filed a petition on the Speaker's desk asking discharge of the rules committee from his resolution. The required number of 218 members signed the petition and the bill was set down on the calendar for April 12.

Meantime, Sumners became panicky over the steady progress of the Gavagan bill and rushed a hearing on the Arthur W. Mitchell bill, reporting it out favorably and setting it down for action April 7. Gavagan and his supporters fought off this trickery (for the Mitchell bill was the weaker) and the House voted 257-122 not to consider the Mitchell bill.

Most Opponents Crude

Of course, the vote on the Gavagan bill is history, but the spectacle of the debate opening on April 12, continuing through April 13 and 15 is a picture of our democracy containing strong lights and deep shadows.

The House session on April 12 was scarcely an hour old (what with preliminaries) before Rep. John J. O'Connor of New York, chairman of the rules committee, threw a bombshell into the midst of the southern members by declaring that congress ought to do something about the rights of Negro citizens and ought to begin right in the nation's capital by wiping out segregation and discrimination.

Southern congressmen never recovered from that statement throughout the debate. Ford, of Mississippi, came back to it in the closing debate, turning and shouting to O'Connor, who happened to be in the chair:

"When you talk about equality for nigras in theatres and restaurants every man with a wife and daughter will arm himself to the teeth. . . ."

That was the tone of the arguments from representatives of the Deep South. Cox of Georgia reminded the House that the Democrats in the South had kept the party alive for years and that the color line was a permanent thing, not to be tampered with. Weaver of North Carolina recalled how he "loved" colored people and especially his black mammy. Colmer and Rankin of Mississippi joined their colleague, Ford, in making the rottenest race-hatred arguments against the bill. It is true that a few southerners attempted to discuss the constitutionality of the bill, but they soon turned to the racial and sex angles. Chairman Sumners made a gallant effort to keep his argument above the belt and away from outspoken race antagonism. He used better and more temperate language than the Mississippi defenders of the faith and won the plaudits of the House when he sat down after his fifty-minute effort. He used charts, talked statistics, philosophized on the history of democratic government, touched upon the admittedly difficult problem created by two dissimilar races living side by side. Although his statistics were open to withering attacks, although his discussion of democracy showed he did not count the Negro as a citizen, although he never once explained the lack of punishment of lynchers in his own state of Texas, he did not get down into the gutter as did the lads from the worst state in the Union.

Maverick of Texas, as he had declared he would do weeks before, spoke in support of the bill and voted for it. He was the lone congressman from the Deep South to vote "yea."

Right hand man of Congressman Gavagan in the weeks before the floor fight and all during the debate was Congressman Raymond McKeough of Illinois. An effective speech for the bill was given by Mrs. Caroline O'Day, congresswoman-at-large from New York, who told of her travels and how she met in nearly every country the same question and reproach about lynchings in America.

The debate raged all afternoon April 15 and on into the dinner hour. It was then that the opponents scored a temporary, partial victory, only to be overthrown a few minutes later. Someone moved to strike out the section assessing a penalty against the county in which a lynching occurs. The supporters of this elimination won by a vote of 128-118, showing how many members had left the floor during the closing debate. But later they returned in time to vote as House members (rather than Committee of the Whole members) 252-139 to reject any and all amendments. That vote told the story of what the final vote would be in the next few minutes. No one who had followed the roll calls was surprised when the vote stood 277-119.

(Continued on next page)

WRITE!

If you wish the passage of the anti-lynching bill in the Senate, write today to the two senators from your state and any other senators you may know, as well as to President Roosevelt, urging that the Senate bring the anti-lynching bill up for debate and vote.

. . . Judge Hastie talks and

. . . Gavagan considers the suggestions

. . . all settled and ready for dinner

Photos by Wilkins

Result of Cooperation

Although the N.A.A.C.P. worked unceasingly as the coordinating and spearhead agency, a great share of the credit for the victory in the House belongs to numerous organizations, white, colored and mixed, national, sectional and local, who cooperated in magnificent fashion. Numerous student groups, religious and fraternal bodies, and influential individuals of both races helped in the campaign. The weekly press gave constant and unstinted support. Many white southerners aided. A most important organization which has endorsed this legislation for three consecutive years is the Woman's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, composed wholly of white women.

The vote:

YEAS—For the Bill—277

California: Frank H. Buck, Charles J. Colden, John M. Costello, John F. Dockweiler, Harry L. Englebright, Thomas F. Ford, Frank R. Havenner, Ed. V. Izac, Charles Kramer, Clarence F. Lea, John J. McGrath, Byron N. Scott, John H. Tolan, H. Jerry Voorhis, Richard J. Welch.

Colorado: John A. Martin.

Connecticut: William M. Citron, William J. Fitzgerald, Herman P. Kopplemann, Alfred N. Phillips, James A. Shanley, Joseph J. Smith.

Delaware: William F. Allen.

Illinois: Leo E. Allen, Leslie C. Aronds, Laurence F. Arnold, Harry P. Beam, Lewis L. Boyer, Edwin V. Champion, Ralph E. Church, Everett M. Dirksen, Frank W. Fries, Kent E. Keller, Edward A. Kelly, Leo Kocialkowski, Lewis M. Long, Scott W. Lucas, James McAndrews, Raymond S. McKeough, Noah M. Mason, James A. Meeks, Arthur W. Mitchell, Thomas J. O'Brien, Chauncey W. Reed, Hugh M. Rigney, Adolph J. Sabath, Edwin M. Schaefer, Chester Thompson.

Indiana: John W. Boehne, Jr., Eugene B. Crowe, James I. Farley, Finly H. Gray, Glenn Griswold, Charles A. Halleck, Virginia E. Jenckes, William H. Larrabee, Louis Ludlow, Samuel B. Pettengill, William T. Schulte.

Iowa: Cassius C. Dowell, Edward C. Eicher, John W. Gwynne, Vincent Harrington, William S. Jacobson, Lloyd Thurston, Otha D. Wearin.

Kansas: Frank Carlson, U. S. Guyer, Clifford R. Hope, John M. Houston, William P. Lambertson, Edward W. Patterson, Edward H. Rees.

Kentucky: Edward W. Creal, John M. Robsion.

Maryland: William P. Cole, Stephen W. Gambrill, T. Alan Goldsborough, Ambrose J. Kennedy, David J. Lewis, Vincent L. Palmisano.

Massachusetts: George J. Bates, Joseph E. Casey, Charles R. Clason, William P. Connery, Jr., Charles L. Gifford, Arthur D. Healey, John P. Higgins, Robert Luce, Joseph W. Martin, Jr., John W. McCormack, Edith Nourse Rogers, George H. Tinkham, Allen T. Treadway, Richard B. Wigglesworth.

Michigan: John D. Dingell, Fred L. Crawford, George A. Dondero, John Lesinski, John Luecke, Carl E. Mapes, George D. O'Brien, Louis C. Rabaut, Andrew J. Transue, Paul W. Shafer, Jesse P. Wolcott, Roy O. Woodruff, Albert J. Engel, Earl C. Michner, George Sadowski.

Minnesota: August H. Andersen, John T. Bernard, R. T. Buckler, Dewey W. Johnson, Paul J. Kvale, Henry G. Teigan, Melvin J. Maas, Elmer J. Ryan.

Maine: Ralph O. Brewster, Clyde H. Smith, James C. Oliver.

Missouri: C. Arthur Anderson, Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Joseph B. Shannon, John J. Cochrane, Dewey Short.

Montana: Jerry J. O'Connell, James F. O'Connor.

Nebraska: Henry C. Luckey, Charles F. McLaughlin, Karl Stefan.

New Hampshire: Arthur B. Jenks, Charles W. Tobey.

New Jersey: Edward J. Hart, Fred A. Hartley, Edward A. Kenney, Donald H. McLean, Mary T. Norton, Edward L. O'Neill, D. Lane Powers, George N. Seger, William H. Sutphin, J. Parnell Thomas, Frank W. Towey, Jr., Elmer H. Wene, Charles A. Wolverton.

New Mexico: John J. Dempsey.

North Dakota: Usher L. Burdick, William Lemke.

New York: William B. Barry, Alfred F. Beiter, Sol Bloom, John J. Boylan, William T. Byrne, Emanuel Celler, E. Harold Cluett, Thomas H. Cullen, Francis D. Culkin, Edward W. Curley, John J. Delaney, Samuel Dickstein, Frank Crowther, Frank Hancock, George B. Kelly, Martin J. Kennedy, Eugene J. Keogh, Fred J. Douglas, Marcellus H. Evans, James M. Fitzpatrick, Joseph A. Gavagan, James J. Lanzetta, Bert Lord, James M. Mead, Mathew J. Merritt, Charles D. Millard, John O'Connor, Caroline O'Day, James A. O'Leary, Donald L. O'Toole, Theodore A. Peyser, Joseph L. Pfeifer, Daniel A. Reed, William I. Sirovich, Bertrand H. Snell, Andrew L. Somers, Christopher D. Sullivan, John Taber.

Ohio: Herbert S. Bigelow, Arthur W. Aleshire, William A. Ashbrook, Harold K. Claypool, Robert Crosser, Joseph A. Dixon, Anthony A. Fleger, Brooks Fletcher, Byron B. Harlan, John F. Hunter, Lawrence E. Imhoff, Thomas A. Jenkins, Michael J. Kirwan, Frank L. Kloeb, Frank C. Kniffin, Arthur P. Lamneck, Harold G. Mosier, James G. Polk, Robert Secrest, Martin L. Sweeney, William R. Thom, Dudley A. White.

Oklahoma: Lyle H. Boren, R. P. Hill, Jed Johnson, Jack Nichols.

Oregon: James W. Mott, Nan Wood Honeyman.

Pennsylvania: Robert G. Allen, Patrick J. Boland, Michael J. Bradley, Charles N. Crosby J. Burwood Daly, Peter J. DeMuth, J. William Ditter, Frank J. G. Dorsey, Ira W. Drew, Matthew A. Dunn, Herman P. Eberharter, Charles R. Eckert, Henry Ellenbogen, Charles I. Faddis, J. Harold Flannery, Oliver W. Frey, James H. Gildea, Don Gingery, Joseph Gray, Harry L. Haines, Benjamin Jarrett, J. Roland Kinzer, James P. McGranery, James L. Quinn, Robert F. Rich, Albert G. Rutherford, Leon Sacks, Michael J. Stack, Guy J. Swope, Francis E. Walter, James Wolfenden, J. Buell Snyder.

Rhode Island: Aime Forand, John M. O'Connell.

South Dakota: Francis H. Case, Fred H. Hildebrandt.

Texas: Maury Maverick.

Tennessee: B. Carroll Reece, J. Will Taylor.

Utah: J. W. Robinson.

Vermont: Charles A. Plumley.

Washington: John M. Coffee, Knute Hill, Warren G. Magnuson, Martin F. Smith, Monrad C. Wallgren.

West Virginia: Andrew Edmiston, George W. Johnson, John Kee, Robert L. Ramsay, Jennings Randolph, Joe L. Smith.

Wisconsin: Thomas R. Amlie, Gerald J. Boileau, Bernard J. Gehrmann, Merlin Hull, Thomas O'Malley, Michael K. Reilly, Harry Sauthoff, George J. Schneider, Gardner R. Withrow.

Wyoming: Paul R. Greever.

JOSEPH A. GAVAGAN

Brief Biography

Mr. Gavagan was born in New York City and educated at Christian Brothers school and Fordham university. He was awarded the degree of Bachelor of Laws *summa cum laude* from Fordham in 1920. He served in the World War as a first lieutenant of infantry, 80th division. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1920 and was elected to the state assembly from the 22nd assembly district in 1923. He served in that body in 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929 and won recognition there as a forceful debater and skilled parliamentarian.

He was elected to Congress from the 21st New York district in 1929 and re-elected in 1930, 1932, and 1934. He is chairman of the elections committee number two and in Congress has been recognized as an authority on the Constitution, its history and interpretation. He is also one of the best informed men in the House on the rules.

Congressman Gavagan has introduced and supported anti-lynching legislation ever since he went to Congress.

NAYS—Against the Bill—119

Alabama: William B. Bankhead, Lister Hill, Pete Jarman, John J. Sparkman, Henry B. Steagall.

Arizona: John R. Murdock.

Arkansas: Ben Cravens, William J. Driver, Claude A. Fuller, Wade H. Kitchens, John L. McClellan, John E. Miller, David D. Terry.

California: John S. McGroarty.

Colorado: Lawrence Lewis.

Florida: Millard F. Caldwell, Robert A. Green, Joe Hendricks, J. Hardin Peterson, J. Mark Wilcox.

Georgia: Paul Brown, E. E. Cox, Braswell D. Deen, Emmett M. Owen, Stephen Pace, Hugh Peterson, Robert Ramspeck, Malcolm C. Tarver, Carl Vinson, B. Frank Whelchel.

Idaho: Compton I. White.

Iowa: Fred Biermann.

Kentucky: Virgil Chapman, Noble J. Gregory, Andrew J. May, Brent Spence, B. M. Vincent, Emmet O'Neal.

Louisiana: A. Leonard Allen, Overton Brooks, Rene L. DeRouen, Joachim O. Fernandez, John K. Griffith, Paul H. Maloney, Newt V. Mills, Robert L. Mouton.

Michigan: Clare E. Hoffman, Frank E. Hook.

Minnesota: Harold Knutson.

Mississippi: Ross A. Collins, William M.

(*Continued on page* 156)

Smashing Tradition in West Virginia

By William Pickens

Mr. Pickens, one of the best known lecturers in America, spends three weeks as a speaker for government adult education forums in West Virginia and returns with the observation: "West Virginia again steps ahead of the 'Old Dominion'"

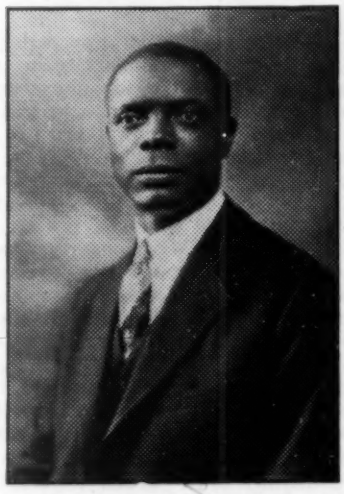
WE have just had an extraordinary three weeks in West Virginia, as a United States Government Forum Leader, — in some respects the most extraordinary three weeks we have ever had with "southern" white people. The fifty-five counties which until the Civil War comprised the northwestern part of what was then the state of Virginia, are still pacing ahead of the parent state and the rest of the ex-slave-holding South.

When Virginia joined the Confederacy, the poor whites of these mountain counties, who had been driven "to the hills" by the slave system, did not choose to join the fight for secession and slavery, and so they rebelled against the state and stayed under Federal control. The first killing of the Civil War occurred in these counties. They adopted a constitution of their own in 1861 and were admitted to the Union in 1863, the year of Emancipation.

Begging Old Virginia's pardon, we wish to say that in this emergency the "po' white trash" of the hills, by harmonizing with manifest destiny, showed greater wisdom than the aristocrats of the lowlands. Agreeing quickly enough with the inevitable is most there is to human "wisdom."

Now these same people of the hills have shown that they are still capable of thinking and acting ahead of the rest of the South, and in some respects ahead of the rest of the nation: of all the 15 or 20 forum areas so far established by the federal government, they are the first to invite a Negro forum leader to discuss the entire range of Negro history and the race problem in America. These projects for public education already extend from Seattle to New Hampshire, and in them are being discussed all the pressing problems of the nation and the world. This one has its center in Morgantown, the seat of the University of West Virginia. Each area must cover sufficient territory to include at least 150,000 people, and the national Commissioner of Education aims to establish enough areas to be within the reach of every inhabitant, making the country a great network for Adult Education.

Dr. John W. Studebaker, the commissioner, was for years a leader of education in Des Moines, Iowa, where he developed the greatest single forum system in the world, and now has the general administration of this government enterprise. But each local area must be administered by a local educator, as this West Virginia area is being administered by Floyd B. Cox, superintendent of schools of Monongalia County and of Morgantown. Next to the local administrator is the Forum director, — who in this area is Dr. Cameron Ralston, formerly a professor in Washington and Jefferson college in western Pennsylvania, and before that an educator in Richmond, Virginia, — and of Scotch blood. The federal government forces no leader on an area, the local authorities having the right to select their own speakers. The West Virginia project is known as the Trico Public Forums, although it already includes more than the "three counties" which organized the area at first.



WILLIAM PICKENS
Director of Branches

Negro Subjects Discussed

All the great subjects of science, society and government are discussed in these forums. The leader usually speaks for about an hour, then answers questions and guides discussions from the floor for another half hour. No subject seems taboo. A few sample topics: "Crime — Its Cause and Cure," "Membership in the World Court," "Communism," "Spain — Communist or Fascist," "The Southern Sharecroppers," "Consumers' Co-operatives," and "The Negro's Contribution to American Civilization,' with separate lectures on "The Negro's Contribution to American Negro Labor," "Music and the Origin of the Spirituals," "Need for National Law Against Lynching," "Negro Art and Literature," etc.

When we were invited to be one of their Forum leaders, we expected to get on with them, of course, but we did not expect to get along in the perfectly normal human way in which it finally turned out. They not only surprised me but evidently surprised themselves, and were surprised by me. After we got to working together the young white men and women who make up the forum office staff would often crowd around my desk and interrupt my work with such friendly observations as these: "You do not realize what you have done here. People here never acted like that before. Did you notice that at the great meeting in our Methodist Episcopal Church colored and white sat where each pleased to sit? That never happened before. It is the first time that any colored person ever dined as guest of honor with clubs and groups at our leading hotel. The Forum Club of the University of West Virginia never had a colored leader before, let alone a Negro dinner guest. And your meetings have broken all our forum records up to now, in attendance, general interest and discussion." And a red-headed lass whispered: "Nobody here, not even in these offices, expected you to get on like that before you came. Even the best of us felt a little bit uneasy about — we didn't know what."

"You know," said I, "once we break an unnatural complex and do what is perfectly natural, it will never be as difficult again: for we will not have again to hurdle the barrier of we-never-did-that-before. Next time you have a big meeting, it should not be even a momentary shock to anybody, white or colored, who was at our great Sunday meeting, to see colored people sitting among the others. It will seem less strange when one can say: Why, we did that before."

Traditions Overboard

But they had acted with such ease, naturalness and politeness that I should

(*Continued on next page*)

never have suspected them of breaking customs if they had not told me. Colored and white told me that these people had violated more traditions and vaulted more race-barriers in the three weeks than had ever been done there in three generations before. They evidently made up their minds to go through their paces with their colored leader just as they had done for two years with their white leaders: dining him through their various clubs at the hotel, urging him to speak at their leading churches, inviting him as dinner guest to their private homes, and even giving a party in his honor.

And they did one thing which had not been done for any of the white leaders: All the white churches of the city and surrounding community suspended their own Sunday evening services and held a union meeting in the largest church, the Methodist Episcopal, to hear a lecture of an hour and a half from the Negro forum leader. As a friendly gesture they gave the collection taken to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Late-comers could not get in; it was the greatest meeting in the history of that section, the presiding officer announcing that it was a larger audience than had greeted William Jennings Bryan in the same auditorium. There are but few colored people in all West Virginia, less than 125,000 at the last census, and the proportion is smallest in these particular counties, but those who attended my meetings were never jim-crowed. Nothing was ever said about it: a certain spirit seemed to pervade the place that simply made segregation unthinkable. The whites evidently felt happy to be without it.

Of course, the final and real disappearance of discrimination must be in that way, — by the spirit of brotherhood rather than by the letter of the law. Judiciously guided legislation may help along this spirit, but final and full settlement of the matter must remain with the spirit. Bold as I am, it would be embarrassing for me to report and quote many of the things that were said to me, as I went about the city; by clerks in the stores, employes at the post office windows, the taximan whom I might hail, and even by little children in the streets. But at the close of this great Sunday meeting, the leading men of the city crowded forward, and one speaking for the group said publicly to Floyd B. Cox, the forum administrator: "You write Studebaker (U.S. Commissioner of Education) and tell him for us that this is the sanest man he has sent here yet."

Some Die-hards

But there are still the die-hards. In one of the towns where I had a luncheon forum with a businessmen's club, the manager of the hotel, who is a member of the club, had a good luncheon prepared and excellent service for all, but refused to eat with his club that day. This I should never have known or noticed, of course, if it had not been for the anger expressed by one of the leading citizens as they motored me back to Forum office. They said frankly that the hotel manager had absented himself because their guest was colored and that they would start a movement to get him out of his position. Strangely enough I was the only man in the group who spoke a word for the offender:

"You know, he stayed away perhaps, but he did not try to interfere in any other way. He prepared an excellent luncheon and did not try to keep any one else away. Somehow I feel that if I had exercised my personal privilege to stay away from anything as an individual, when my absence did not hinder the group success, I should not be attacked for it. One's personal complexes depend upon where one was born and how brought up and taught, things one cannot well choose for oneself. I should get angry with a man for having a real prejudice no sooner than I should be angry with a rattlesnake for having poison; but always providing the necessary defense against either the prejudice or the poison."

In another town further toward the South, the superintendent of public schools refused the use of the high school auditorium, which had been used for all previous meetings, because the forum speaker was now to be a Negro. The meeting was taken to the largest church, just across the street from the school. Principal, teachers and citizens were not only willing to use the school, but enthusiastic in their anticipations of the occasion, but the superintendent, although he stood alone, was one of those hardy, changeless and unyielding souls, who will die by his "principles," standing firm like the patriot at Thermopylae, but in the superintendent's case blocking the attack of Progress against the ancient citadels of his race prejudices. Bless his heart! When one is so consistent as that, the only possible reformer is Death, and that is just what death was made for.

But in this same town we were received by the white people as we have never been received in a southern community before: one of the white families kept me as a guest for three days, while we went and came to the various forum points in that part of the district. The man who motored me around in that section said that his father had been a Confederate soldier, and he confided: "Thinking that there might be some difficulty in getting a home for you, several of the leading families, before you came, volunteered to tell us that if we had not a good place for you, just to bring you to their homes and they would keep you. I'm a southerner and I know that never happened here before, and would not have been done a few years ago."

At Arthurdale

At Mrs. Roosevelt's Arthurdale resettlement community we had the largest forum meeting that the community had so far seen. When we had more than one meeting in the same place, the last meeting was the largest of all. At Cassville, 15 miles from Morgantown, we spoke in the first week on the general problem of the Negro in America. It was announced that two weeks later we would speak at the same place on "The Southern Sharecroppers." At this second meeting the people could not all get in, many drawing their autos up by the windows outside and hearing what they could. For a mining folk, they manifested phenomenal interest in this farm topic, in both questions and discussions.

A never-to-be-forgotten meeting was held on the night of the first day of my arrival, at the famous "Shack," a meeting place and library center conducted in the mining valley of Scott's Run, by a young white woman leader, for the benefit of both black and white workers. They have a sort of community house, with library, kitchen and assembly-dining hall. The interracial dinner that evening was a "pot-luck" affair, each individual or family bringing some contribution: meat, vegetable, fruit, dessert, or drink. Consequently there was every sort of victual on hand. A few people were present from the University of West Virginia, and some of the Forum staff accompanied me, but it was the working people, black and white, who made the meeting lively, asking wonderfully intelligent questions after the lecture, preceded by unusual mountain and rural music.

All the forum staff, working under the leadership of Dr. Cameron Ralston, are southern white people, many of them young men and women in their twenties, and I was never treated with more courtesy in any office in my life. In a few days the spirit grew into something finer than courtesy: kindliness and affection. Their attitudes became so genuine and free from condescension that I often felt embarrassed, lest I appear condescending to them. When I was leaving, they said: "We hate to see you go more than any other forum leader we have had." And I hated to be going.

The *Catholic Worker* of New York City began in January to carry a regular column of interracial news.

Press Comment on Anti-Lynching Bill

Memphis, Tenn., *Press-Scimitar*

If we do not want G-men from Washington coming down here to get our lynchers into court, we must do it ourselves.

Unless the Southern states themselves can cope with this evil, we cannot expect to fend off the passage of a federal anti-lynching law.

Springfield, Mass., *Republican*

The federal anti-lynching bill, if enacted, will not absolutely end lynching —that is too much to expect of legislation. The evil, however, is so grave in any civilized community that the resources of the federal government should be joined to those of the states in contending with it. Not to call into action every power inherent in the federal system, in whatever division, must seem inexcusable.

Washington, D. C., *Star*

There is no debating the logic of the argument that the most effective method of fighting and eradicating the lynching evil is through an aroused public sentiment within the States. Much progress has been made in this direction and lynching today is no longer condoned even as a necessary evil. But the American people are becoming impatient over the tedious progress in some of the States. A few more horrors, such as that at Winona, Miss., this week, and the most rational opposition to the Gavagan bill and legislation of its type will melt away.

New York *Post*

Moreover, those who use the States' rights issue as an argument against the Federal anti-lynching bill would be in a far stronger position if they had, over the years, fought to prosecute lynchers on a State and local basis. Because few of them have done so, the conscience of the nation as a whole demands this anti-lynching legislation.

Lynching must be stamped out. It is now up to the Senate to pass the Wagner-Gavagan bill and end a national disgrace.

Miami, Fla., *Daily News*

As the house of representatives passed the drastic Gavagan anti-lynching bill, Chairman Sumners of the judiciary committee cried: "Why don't you let us in the South alone and give us a chance to show what we can do about this situation?"

The very same day the district attorney of Montgomery county, Mississippi, where two Negroes were tortured to death with a blow torch Tuesday, was giving the usual Southern answer:

> We have been unable to get anything definite on the mob leaders. However, we are confident none of the parties in the mob was from Montgomery county.

The burden is on Chairman Sumners to prove that the South hasn't already had its chance "to see what we can do about this situation" and hasn't pretty thoroughly muffed it.

New York *Daily News*

The Gavagan anti-lynching bill, then, is nothing but a bill to empower the Federal Government to try to break up lynching, as it has broken up kidnaping in the North and Northwest and prohibition gangsterism in the large cities.

The States can't or won't stop lynching; at least, they haven't; now the Federal Government should be given a chance to try.

If any bill ever was 100% within the Constitution, this bill is. And we hope it passes the Senate, even over the opposition of the Southern Senators.

But we hope the Southern Senators will come to see the justice in it. It ought to have a unanimous vote.

Chattanooga, Tenn., *Times*

The repetition of lynchings is causing more and more people in this section to believe that such instances of brutality and terrorism should be regarded, not as a violation of the laws of a State, but as a crime against society itself and subject to prosecution under Federal laws.

Louisville, Ky., *Courier-Journal*

While the country has been waiting for the States to prove their ability and will to deal with this question, and noting their failure to deal with it, lynchings have continued, and while some of the victims have been saved from mobs, the lynchers and mobs are never punished.

The Gavagan law now proposes to turn over to the National Government the work which the State governments have failed to do. That seems to be the only chance of getting it done at all.

Birmingham, Ala., *Post*

It appears certain now that the House will pass the Gavagan bill on April 12 and that only a filibuster will stop the Senate from passing the Wagner-Van Nuys bill.

Enlightened Southerners know that the mobbing and lynching of Negroes is a survival of carpetbagger days. These days are gone, and with the help of the Federal Government lynch law, too, should soon give way to the orderly processes of American justice.

Danville, Va., *Register*

On the morning of the very day two men were fiendishly murdered near Duck Hill, Miss., an editorial appeared in this paper reiterating our opinion that though the objectives of the anti-lynching bill pending in Congress were commendable we did not believe that the enactment of such a law would curb the evil.

But though we still hold these doubts, we herewith reverse ourselves completely and call upon the Congress of the United States to take any action which in its opinion gives any promise of checking the barbarism of the South.

Newport News, Va., *Daily Press*

As much as we hate to admit it, we fear that a Federal anti-lynching law is the only method of preventing lynchings and mob rule. The States have had an opportunity to make an end of the practice, but some of them have failed to do so.

No civilized country can tolerate such barbarism and such a complete breakdown of the law as that which occurred in Montgomery county. The time has arrived for the decent, law-abiding citizens of the country to enact laws which either will make an end of savagery or which will land the savages in prison.

Greensboro, N. C., *News*

The Bayou State's dual exhibit is as atrocious as even the most meticulous lynchers could demand.

That is the picture before the national House of Representatives while Southern honorables rant about States' rights, counter with attacks upon New York gangster deaths and fervently declare that progress is being made in elimination of the lynching evil and that education is the only sure and satisfactory

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Pushkin In Self-Portrayal

By Anna Heifetz

An utterly fascinating topic to white Americans—indeed, to white people everywhere—is mixture of the races. It was inevitable that the question of the amount of Negro blood in the great Russian poet should be discussed in this 100th anniversary year of his death

PUSHKIN on his mother's side, born a Gannibal, descends from an Abyssinian Negro. It is his great grandfather Ibrahim[1] whom Pushkin represents in the unfinished tale "The Negro of Peter the Great." He undoubtedly inherited some of the physical features of his great grandfather. In his appearance, in his curly hair, in his quick look, in his whole face there was something "Negroid." The fiery Abyssinian temperament is traced in the fifth, sixth and tenth generations, manifesting itself to a greater or lesser extent in the character, thought transference, mood, world outlook and inclinations of the person. Pushkin pays his respect to his ancestry in the following words: "To be proud of one's ancestors is not only possible, but compulsory; *not to respect them is a shameful cowardice.* (Italics mine) In justification of this statement he collected all the material available from family tradition and gathered it together in his "Notes"; and repeated this favorite theme in the well-known autobiographical poem,[2] "My Pedigree," which is intimately connected with this genealogical account written by him in 1830 and appearing here for the first time in English translation. Pushkin's "Notes" follow:

Translation below from the original Russian by Miss Heifetz.—Editor

My mother's genealogy is still more curious.[1] Her grandfather was a Negro,[2] the son of a wealthy prince. The Russian ambassador in Constantinople, having gotten him from a seraglio where he was kept as a chieftain, sent him to Peter I[3] together with two other Negroes.[4] The Czar had the little Ibrahim baptized in Vilna in 1707 with the Polish queen, the wife of August and gave him the name of Gannibal. In baptism, he was named Peter but as he cried and did not want to bear the new name, so till his very death he called himself Abraham. His elder brother came to St. Petersburg, offering a ransom for him but Peter would not part with his godson. Till the year 1716, Gannibal remained constantly in the presence of the Czar, slept in his turnery workshop, accompanied him in all his campaigns; then he was sent to Paris where for some time he was taught in a military school, later he joined the French army, but during the Spanish War was wounded in the head in an underground battle (it is said in his manuscript biography) and returned to Paris, where he lived long in the distraction of the beau monde. Peter I called him back repeatedly, but Gannibal was in no hurry and so talked himself out of it under different pretexts. At last the Czar wróte to him that he didn't intend to force him to return, that he would let him choose whether he wanted to return to Russia or remain in France; but that he would by no means desert his former godson. Moved by the Czar's affection Gannibal immediately returned to St. Petersburg. The Czar went out to meet him and blessed him with the shrine of Peter and Paul which was preserved by his sons, but which I could not find. The Czar bestowed on Gannibal the honor of being a captain-lieutenant enlisted in the bombarding company of Preobrazhenski regiment.[5] It is known that Peter was the captain. This took place in 1722.

After the death of Peter the Great, there was a change in his fate. Menshikov,[6] fearing his influence on the Emperor Peter II, found a way of removing him from court—Gannibal was (renamed into) a major of the Tobolsk garrison and sent to Siberia and entrusted to measure the Chinese wall.

Gannibal stayed there some time and returned of his own will to St. Petersburg, having found out about the downfall of Menshikov and looking forward to the protectorship of the prince, Dolgorukii,[7] with whom he was connected. Münnich[8] saved Gannibal by having sent him secretly to a village near Revel, where he lived almost ten years in constant fear. Till his very death he could not without trembling hear the bell ring. When the Empress Elizaveta ascended the throne, Gannibal wrote her the words of the gospel: "Lord, remember me when Thou comest into Thy Kingdom." Elizaveta immediately summoned him to court, promoted him to a brigadier-general and soon after to a major-general and general-in-chief, donated to him several villages in the government of Pskov and Petersburg; in the first government Zuyevo, Bor, Petrovskoye and others; in the second government: Kobrino, Suida and Taitzy, also the village Ragola, near Revel in which for some time he was the chief commandant. In the reign of Peter III he retired and died as a philosopher (says his German biographer) in 1781, in the 93rd year of his life. He wrote his notes in French but in a fit of panicky fear to which he was subject, ordered them to be burnt together with other valuable documents.

Put Wife in Nunnery

In his family life my great grandfather Gannibal was as unfortunate as the great grandfather Pushkin. His first wife, a beauty, by birth a Greek, gave birth to a white child. He divorced her and compelled her to take the veil in the Tikhvin Monastery[9] and the daughter Poliksen left to himself, gave her a thorough education, a rich trousseau, but never allowed her to be seen by him. His second wife, Christina-Regina von Scheberg, was married to him when he was the chief commandant in Revel and gave birth to many black children of both sexes.

The eldest son, Ivan Abramovich, is as noteworthy as his father. He entered military service in spite of his father's will, distinguished himself and on his knees obtained his father's forgiveness. At Chesma[10] he commanded

[1] B. L. Modzalevski who in 1907 compiled the genealogy of the Gannibals in accordance with the archival and printed sources, states that Avrahm (Peter) Petrovich before baptism Ibrahim was born in 1697–1698 in Lagona (Northern Abyssinia) and was the son of a wealthy prince in vassal dependence of the Turks to whom he was given as hostage at the age of eight and brought to Constantinople. In 1706 he was brought by Count S. L. Vladislavich-Raguzinski to Moscow who delivered him to Peter the Great.

[2] Poems by Alexander Pushkin. Translated from the Russian by Ivan Panin, Boston, 1888.

[1] From S. A. Vengerov edition of Pushkin's Collected Works, St. Petersburg, 1907–1915. (In six volumes—V. 5, pp. 427–429.)

[2] Russian word Negr.

[3] More commonly known as Peter the Great.

[4] The Russian word arapchaty.

[5] Preobrazhenski regiment formed by Peter the Great in 1687.

[6] Menshikov, A. D., Count (1670–1729) in attendance and co-worker of Peter the Great.

[7] Dolgorukii Ya., Count (1659–1720) in attendance and co-worker of Peter the Great.

[8] Münnich, Von B. (1683–1767) statesman, who had great influence in the reign of Anna Ivanovna.

[9] In the government of Novgorod.

[10] Turkish port on the Aegean Sea where a battle took place between the Russians and the Turks in 1770.

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Editorials

The House Passes Gavagan Bill

HISTORY was made April 15 when a Democratic House of Representatives passed the Gavagan federal anti-lynching bill by the overwhelming vote of 277 to 119. The vote was almost a strictly North-South one, with a few exceptions, notably the liberal Maury Maverick of Texas, who cast his vote for the bill.

Ever since the election November 3, it has been apparent to close observers that an anti-lynching bill would pass the House if it could be got to the floor. The trick was to get it out of the House judiciary committee presided over by Congressman Hatton W. Sumners, of Texas, arch-foe of anti-lynching bills.

Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan, of New York, the fighting sponsor of the House bill, took the lead in the moves to get his bill to the floor. He filed a resolution with the Rules committee asking for a special rule to get it out of the judiciary committee. When the Rules committee failed to act, he filed a petition on the Speaker's desk asking the discharge of his resolution from the Rules committee. That petition required 218 signatures and they were secured, calling up the Gavagan bill on April 12.

There was no hitch in the carefully-laid plans for bringing the Gavagan measure to the floor until Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, perhaps at the suggestion of Chairman Sumners and other opponents of the bill, injected himself and his anti-lynching bill into the picture. The Mitchell move, designed as it was to sidetrack the strong Gavagan bill, failed when the House on April 7 voted 257-122 not to consider the Mitchell bill.

The vote against considering the Mitchell bill showed clearly what the N.A.A.C.P. knew all along: that an anti-lynching bill had at least a 2-to-1 favorable vote in the House.

Shortly before seven p.m. April 15, after heated and bitter sectional and racial debate, the bill was passed.

The House battle is behind and now——

We Turn to the Senate

IN the Senate, the Wagner-Van Nuys anti-lynching bill faces a hard fight, a fight likely to be much more difficult than other Senate anti-lynching fights have been because of the sharp cleavage on the President's plan for enlarging the United States supreme court.

Most of our readers understand that Senate rules permit unlimited debate, which means any small minority can conduct a filibuster and take the bill off the calendar. A filibuster killed the Dyer bill in 1922 and sidetracked the Wagner-Costigan bill in the spring of 1935.

There is a possibility, slim though it may be, that a filibuster can be prevented. For one thing, there is a growing demand from influential southern newspapers that their senators not resort to filibustering tactics. Then, there is the pressure, for what it is worth on so independent a body as the Senate, of the overwhelming vote in the House.

Finally, there is the great sentiment of the people of the country in favor of this legislation. The people can be of the greatest aid at this time by telling their senators that they want this bill passed.

What chance has the bill in the Senate? The answer is that it will pass if it can be got up for a vote. Senators should be asked not to confine themselves to promises to vote for the bill when it comes up, but to use their influence with the Senate leadership to see that it is brought up. It remains to be seen whether the United States Senate will retreat behind a shameful filibuster in the face of the disgraceful record of non-punishment of lynchers which was topped off April 13 by the ghastly double lynching at Duck Hill, Miss.

For White Supremacy

THERE is nothing more curious and inexplicable to people from other sections of the country than the utter abandonment of rationality by professional white southerners whenever a question touching upon the Negro is up for discussion. People who are reasonable, even charming, in their handling of most questions immediately go "off the deep end" on the Negro.

The impassioned speeches by southern congressmen on the Gavagan anti-lynching bill furnished an excellent example of the phenomenon. Some of the southerners, of course, are not charming, but many of them are reasonable men—except on the Negro. By that reasoning peculiar to some sections of the South, they argued that passage of an anti-lynching bill would be a signal for the wholesale raping of their wives, daughters and mothers by "black brutes."

They ignored the fact that only 16 per cent of the lynchings have been staged against alleged sex offenders of all types.

They ignored the fact that southern court records show that Negroes accused of major and minor crimes against white people are swiftly and heavily punished.

Thus they admitted, with every word spoken, that they wanted lynching not to punish sex crime, or, indeed, to punish any crime, but simply and solely for the purpose of terrorizing Negroes and maintaining thereby what is fondly called "white supremacy."

A pathetic sight they made, shouting by their actions as well as by their words, that in spite of their disfranchisement, their rigid segregation, their lily-white courts, their niggardly jim crow schooling, and their agricultural near-slavery, they still needed to be free to lynch Negroes in order to maintain the superiority of the Great White Race.

Virginia Dailies On Lynching

VIRGINIA continues steadily to move farther and farther away from the company of "Deep South" states. Many southern customs and laws remain in force on the race question, and doubtless will remain for many years to come. Many inequalities exist and cry for correction. But the vicious backwardness characteristic of many Dixie regions is not to be found in the O'd Dominion state. In the present movement for enactment of a federal anti-lynching bill, Virginia daily newspapers have led all the South in outspoken support. The Richmond *Times-Dispatch* started them off this year with a fearless editorial February 2, 1937, although the Bristol *Herald Courier* has favored such a law for several years. At this writing THE CRISIS learns that a total of seven Virginia dailies has declared for a federal anti-lynching bill. They are: the Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, Danville *Register*, Newport News *Daily Press*, Petersburg *Progress-Index* Bristol *Herald Courier*, Portsmouth *Star*, and the *Times Dispatch*.

Abyssinia

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of Ethiopia, and in the whole of the territory to be crossed by the abovementioned railway. This claim also to be supported by Great Britain."

Italy being on particularly bad terms with Jugoslavia, as well as her ally France, desired to keep Paris out of the new bargain. Britain, however, declined to accept the proposals of Italy, for at that time she was in direct negotiations with the Abyssinian government and had reason to believe that she would obtain the necessary concessions to build a dam on Lake Tsana, in order to regulate the supplies of water of the Nile for the cotton plantations in the Sudan. They were, however, disappointed. The Abyssinian government refused to accept the British proposals. Instead Haile Selassie turned toward America, where negotiations were opened with the White Engineering Company of New York for constructing a barrage on Lake Tsana. In making this decision, the Emperor was no doubt influenced by the fact that America, because of her geographical position, would be less likely to have annexation designs upon Abyssinia than the great European Powers. Furthermore, the anti-imperialist sentiments expressed by President Wilson in 1919 might also have created the impression among the Abyssinians that they could expect a squarer deal from Americans than Europeans.

The imperialists fall out

Italy, peeved by Britain's refusal to make a secret deal with her behind the back of France, began to draw closer towards Abyssinia in the hope of ingratiating herself into the favour of Haile Selassie. In order to implement this gesture of friendship, Italy encouraged Abyssinia to become a member of the League of Nations in 1923. In his letter of application to the League, the Emperor wrote: "The Holy Scriptures bear witness that since the year 1500 after Solomon we have been contending with the heathen—by whom (as may be seen from the map of our country) we are surrounded—for the faith and the laws of God, and to maintain the independence of our country and the freedom of our religion. We know that the League of Nations guarantees the independence and territorial integrity of all the nations of the world, and maintains peace and agreement among them; that all its efforts are directed towards the strengthening of friendship among the races of mankind; that it is anxious to remove all the obstacles to that friendship which give rise to war when one country is offended; that it causes truth and loyalty to be respected."

England, scenting the game Italy was up to, placed herself in opposition to Abyssinia's entry into the League. Embittered because the blacks had refused to grant them the concession to dam the waters of Lake Tsana, the British imperialists felt that it might be necessary sooner or later to exert direct pressure upon the Emperor, and Abyssinia's presence at Geneva would be embarrassing to them. But thanks to the support of Italy and France, who were then desperately trying to increase their prestige in Addis Ababa at England's expense, Abyssinia was admitted into the League in September, 1923. Two years later, Britain, whose prestige had fallen considerably by this time, decided to exert direct pressure upon Abyssinia. Let us see how the crafty Britishers went about it.

They first settled outstanding accounts with Italy by granting her Jibuland in 1924, a strip of territory covering an area of about 33,000 square miles in East Africa. In this way an Anglo-Italian *rapprochement* was concluded. Then Sir Austen Chamberlain, the Foreign Secretary, addressed a note to Mussolini, through Sir Ronald Graham, the British Ambassador in Rome, asking the Duce to support Britain's efforts in getting control of Lake Tsana. In return England promised Mussolini "to recognize an exclusive Italian economic influence in the West of Abyssinia." The British government also agreed to support Italy in all her demands in all those parts of Africa which fell within her sphere of interest. And as was to be expected, Mussolini was jubilant. At last, the proud Britons, who had declined Italy's advances in 1919, fell within the Fascist grip! The Duce replied offering to accept Chamberlain's proposals on all points, "especially sharing the desire of the British government to realise the principle of friendly co-operation and trusting, moreover, that this principle may be continually further extended for the protection and development of the respective Italian and British interests in Ethiopia, naturally on the basis and within the limits of the provisions of the London Agreement of 1906."

The two governments, having secretly agreed to bring pressure to bear upon their victim, decided upon the next step. Both Powers despatched letters to the Abyssinian government, intimating what they had decided upon. What a shameful affair! A so-called democratic statesman conspiring with Mussolini, the arch enemy of democracy, to rob a weak and defenseless people of their liberty. Replying to the note of these two gentlemen, Haile Selassie wrote: "The fact that you have come to an agreement, and the fact that you have thought it necessary to give us a joint notification of that agreement, makes it clear that your intention is to exert pressure, and this, in our view, at once raises a previous question. This question, which calls for preliminary examination, must therefore be laid before the League of Nations."

France, having been excluded from the agreement between England and Italy, was highly indignant and supported Abyssinia's protest to the League of Nations against this dastardly attempt to infringe upon the sovereignty of a member State. Faced with this exposure, the Italian and British governments hurried to assure the Abyssinians that they had no territorial designs upon their country. They were just simply exchanging harmless notes *a la methode diplomatique*. Abyssinia accepted the assurances of her enemies and the matter was allowed to drop at this stage.

Baldwin plays a lone hand

Britain then began to play a lone hand once more. Accordingly, she tried to allay the justifiable suspicions of the Abyssinians by offering them an outlet to the sea through the port of Zeila in British Somaliland. The Abyssinians, however, declined this gesture. Zeila has always been the bait of the British Foreign Office, a sop which they dangled from time to time before the Abyssinians. Italy, seeing the game Britain was playing, also began to make overtures to Abyssinia. In order to disarm the Abyssinians, by giving them a false sense of security, Mussolini signed a treaty of friendship and arbitration with Haile Selassie in August, 1928, the most important clause of which affirmed that "Both governments undertake to submit to a procedure of conciliation and arbitration disputes which may arise between them, and which it may not have been possible to settle by ordinary diplomatic methods, without having recourse to armed force. Notes shall be exchanged by common agreement between the two governments regarding the manner of appointing arbitrators."

Had this treaty been respected by Mussolini when the Wal-Wal incident occurred in 1934, the war which later occurred would have been avoided. But Mussolini never had any intention of honouring his signature. The treaty was simply a diplomatic mask behind which he was able to prepare his plans of aggression while at the same time

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From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

We Reverse Ourselves

Danville, Va., *Register*

A BLOW torch is more convincing than logic.

When a mob of 100 white men seize two Negroes in Mississippi, haul them in a bus to the scene of a murder they had just denied committing, and torture them to death by searing their bodies with a blow torch, congressmen with legalistic minds can still get up in the House of Representatives to argue that an anti-lynching bill constitutes an unconstitutional invasion of the rights of the states.

On the morning of the very day two men were fiendishly murdered near Duck Hill, Miss., an editorial appeared in this paper reiterating our opinion that though the objectives of the anti-lynching bill pending in Congress were commendable we did not believe that the enactment of such a law would curb the evil.

But though we still hold these doubts, we herewith reverse ourselves completely and call upon the Congress of the United States to take any action which in its opinion gives any promise of checking the barbarism of the South. It is no longer a question of what we think. So long as any considerable group of men believe that a plan they propose has any chance of preventing such fiendish acts or punishing such fiends, we will hereafter throw whatever influence we have behind their plan.

And we call on every fair-minded man and every warm-hearted woman among our more than 10,000 readers, who are proud that they are southerners, to join with us in doing our part to remove this stigma from the South. Today, if you do not relish the stench of burning flesh and do not enjoy the screams of tortured men, telegraph or write the Hon. Thomas G. Burch, member of Congress from the Fifth Virginia District, and the Hon. Carter Glass and the Hon. Harry F. Byrd, senators of Virginia, and ask them to support the Gavagan bill or any other bill which offers any hope of preventing lynchings.

Tell them that the honor of the South is more important than the rights of the southern states.

Tell them that the South earnestly implores the Federal Government to do what the southern states have failed to do.

Tell them that the southern people are decent and honest and human and not fiends as a Mississippi mob represented them to be.

Tell them that a blow torch has convinced you, as it convinced *The Register*, that representatives of a disgraced South should bow their heads in Congress and vote in favor of the most drastic anti-lynching bill submitted to that body.

(Note by CRISIS *editor: Other daily papers in Virginia which have endorsed a federal anti-lynching bill are:* The Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, Petersburg *Progress-Index*, Bristol *Herald Courier*, Portsmouth *Star*, Richmond *Times-Dispatch, and* Newport News *Daily Press. Another strong endorsement has been given by the* Miami, Florida, *Daily News.*

David Wark Griffith, white, whose fame rests upon the fact that he directed "The Birth of a Nation," commonly regarded as a glorification of the Ku Klux Klan and a justification of mobs and lynching, got into the newspaper headlines the other day.

His Ku Klux hymn of hate caused riots and disturbances and prejudice wherever it was shown. In New York, Griffith, the "great" director, seeking to break his contract to pay his first wife $400 a month, pictured her as a vixen who had made his life a terror. . .

Fate works strange patterns. Here's a man who makes a million out of a film of terror and spends it on a woman who made his life a nightmare.—*Afro-American.*

Approval of the $470,000,000 measure designed to improve the economic status of tenants and sharecroppers, by the House Agriculture Committee, is enlightened action in keeping with the new social philosophy by which we are integrating the security of underprivileged classes with that of the privileged. . .

Congress can hardly build a more impressive memorial to the articulate social philosophy of the New Deal than by enacting into law with dispatch the enlightened basic proposals of President Roosevelt for the emancipation of tenants and sharecroppers, and thus bring to the South, and the nation, a larger degree of permanent prosperity.—Norfolk, Va., *Journal and Guide.*

United States Senator Carter Glass from Virginia spoiled an able argument in opposition to the President's plan to pack the Supreme Court of the United States by injecting therein an appeal to race prejudice rampant in the hinterland of barbarism, oppression, injustice and ignorance known as the "Solid South." . . .

It is lamentable that such a great issue cannot be debated without recourse to the despicable race baiting tactics employed by the senior senator from Virginia in his radio address last Monday night. . .

Senator Glass rendered disservice to a righteous cause because of his bloody shirt excursion during the course of his radio address. He hails from the South, however, and South is South. Southerners cannot discuss the fourth dimension without reference to the Negro.—Richmond *Planet.*

The Supreme Court says the Wagner Labor Relations Act is constitutional. Labor has the right to organize with absolute freedom to choose its own representatives for collective bargaining. . .

But organized labor must be fair. As the unions gain power to bargain collectively, they must include all workers.

If unions continue to discriminate against colored workers, they must not complain if colored workers serve as strike breakers. Labor unions have forced colored waiters out of practically every first-class hotel and cafe in almost every large city. . .

White labor has achieved a great victory. Whether or not colored labor will benefit depends largely upon the attitude of union leaders. In the meantime colored workers must press for membership as well as official positions in labor organizations. . .—Philadelphia *Tribune.*

Why increase the expenses of government by adding six judges to the Supreme bench? More logical and more economical to reduce the number of sitters in that sanctuary to three, five or six.—Cincinnati *Union.*

Objections to "Cult" Classification

The January CRISIS contained an article entitled "Organized Religion and the Cults," by the Rev. M. M. Fisher of Durham, N. C. It seemed to THE CRISIS that Mr. Fisher plainly was rebuking organized religion and pointing out the lessons it could learn from some of the less orthodox religious groups, which were loosely designated as "cults." Bishop H. Z. Plummer here objects to certain statements in the Fisher article and THE CRISIS is glad to print his letter in full

To the Editor of the Crisis:—

The January, 1937, issue of The Crisis included an article by the Rev. Miles Mark Fisher, in which there are several inaccurate and unfair statements made concerning the Church of God and Saints of Christ, and which if not corrected will produce serious and irreparable injuries to the church and the institutions which it fosters. I am asking you, therefore, to give reasonable and proper space in your next issue for the corrections which I am herewith calling to your attention.

My first objection is that Mr. Fisher groups a number of sects and religious organizations along with two or three of the more elaborately advertised prophets and migratory dispensers of one faith or another and unfortunately refers to all of them as "cults."

The Church of God and Saints of Christ was founded in 1896, and today has 6,000 members with houses of worship in most of the principal cities. It maintains a Widows' and Orphans' Home at Belleville, Virginia, as well as the Belleville Industrial School. Located here also is the home of the Bishop and consequently the headquarters for the church.

"Cult" is understood by the masses as the devotion to a person, an idea, or thing by a group of admirers. Thus the term "cult" in its more popular aspects is definitely an unfair and libelous designation for a recognized Christian religious body. This assertion is based on the fact that Christianity has its foundation solely on the precepts of God and God is neither a person, an idea, or a thing.

The religion and worship of the Church of God and Saints of Christ are as orthodox in the principles and teachings of Christ as are the religion and worship of the Baptists, Methodists, or other recognized religious denominations.

The term "cult" has come to be accepted today as the designation for the organizations and followings of certain false prophets, whose sincerity and religion both are matters of considerable doubt. The reckless and unfortunate use of that term by the author of the article titled, "Organized Religion and the Cults" puts my church under an onus of suspicion that will likely cause it irreparable loss.

The statement is made that "cult leaders are not degreed clergymen, but are former cooks, like Crowdy and Grace . . ." Here again we have the author placing emphasis upon false standards of worth and character in an effort to disparage these religious organizations which he calls "cults." The true test of leadership, it seems to me, lies in the measure of success and sincerity of purpose of the individual who endeavors to lead, and not in the variety and number of "degrees" conferred upon him.

I thought it was generally recognized by people of intelligence that all worthy leaders are not men of degrees, nor all men with degrees great leaders. It does not seem possible to me that Mr. Fisher could have disregarded that fact except for the purpose of giving emphasis to his disparagement of other religious organizations, such as my own.

He makes this statement also: "The 'cult' places of meeting are tents or 'store fronts' or other plain audience rooms." It may be that Mr. Fisher's religion requires the adornment of temples of splendor, but I am quite happy that neither mine nor that of the Saviour found these material advantages necessary for the accomplishment of its primary purposes. To deride and disparage a church because it is poor and simple is to lose sight of the true meaning of religious worship. If these other groups which Mr. Fisher calls "cults" are alluring and seducing members of other congregations the blame is not upon the "cults" but upon the temples of "organized religion," which evidently have lost sight of the needs of their members and the purposes for which they were built. I do not think that the so-called "established churches" are going to get very far towards saving themselves from the fate which they anticipate by slandering other denominations than their own.

It seems hardly a fit subject for humor or sarcasm that "The Church of God and Saints of Christ has gone so far as to have no instrumental accompaniments to its music." If it were, the author might have drawn from many of the world's great a cappella choirs, or from such churches as the Hampton Institute chapel, for more of this sort of entertainment.

It seems unfair also that most of Mr. Fisher's references to the leadership of the Church of God and Saints of Christ made mention of Bishop Crowdy, who is now dead and can no longer speak either in his own defense or in the defense of the church he founded. His alleged insanity becomes a mere weak accusation when consideration is given to the fact that he was released from confinement because of lack of evidence and returned to reclaim his followers and to carry on the work of God, which he had started.

In the article the following claim is also made: "Belleville (Virginia) of the Church of God and Saints of Christ, The Kingdoms of Father Divine, and 'Zora (North Carolina)' of the Saints of the Solid Rock of Holiness are more or less communistic headquarters of these groups. All popular amusements are taboo." Perhaps Mr. Fisher intended the broadest meaning when he used the word "communistic," but the inference likely to be drawn by the average reader is that Belleville (Virginia) is actually a communistic haven for members of the Church of God and Saints of Christ in the political or social meaning of the word. *This, emphatically is untrue.* Even if a more liberal meaning was intended, the implication would still be unfair because Belleville is first an industrial school, chartered by the State of Virginia, with grades up to the Junior High School. It accepts as students non-members as well as members of the church. These students pay a regular tuition and are permitted to pursue their studies entirely free from any religious constraint.

Belleville is, second, the Widows' and Orphans' Home of the church, where its indigent and less fortunate members may live and make their home.

Third, it is the headquarters of the Church at which its varied national activities are centralized.

If the author had read carefully the

newspapers of the race during the last few years, he would know that Bishop William H. Plummer was an ardent tennis enthusiast and himself a player of no mean ability, and that he maintained active participation in the game after he had passed sixty. He was also a well-known figure at national and state tennis tournaments for several years. Mr. Fisher would also know that the writer of this letter and successor to Bishop William H. Plummer, donated a trophy which bears his name, and which is now in competition at the annual tournaments of the American Tennis Association, and is himself an active player as well as patron of the game. Mr. Fisher would also know that the present national junior girls' tennis champion is a member of the Church of God and Saints of Christ, and was carried by the Bishop himself to the National Tournament at Wilberforce last summer.

Those familiar with recent developments in "popular amusements" know that not only has Belleville given to tennis several of its better players, but has also sponsored local and state tournaments on the grounds of its home and school at Belleville. Moreover, the baseball and basketball teams of Belleville play regular schedules each year and travel very extensively in the eastern part of the country.

But, as Mr. Fisher says, "all popular amusements are taboo."

I think that the public is entitled to the truth, especially when one of Mr. Fisher's reputation and learning speaks so authoritatively. His pedantic collection of generalities and trivialities in your January issue should be corrected and it is for this reason that I am herewith attempting to set the record straight.

I trust that you will do us the courtesy of allowing us as much space as is necessary to negative the damage which has been done us.

BISHOP H. Z. PLUMMER

Portsmouth, Virginia

Reply of Mr. Fisher

Dear Bishop Plummer: It was indeed kind of you to send me a copy of the letter which you have forwarded to Mr. Roy Wilkins, Editor of THE CRISIS.

I am concerned because you feel that my references to your religious group, in the January issue of THE CRISIS under the title of "Organized Religion and the Cults," was "unsavory," "unfair," and designed to put your church "under an onus of suspicion that will cause it irreparable loss." I sincerely hope that my article will have no such effect.

May I not attempt to answer the points which you raised?

First, you object to my grouping together of "a number of sects and religious organizations (including the Church of God and Saints of Christ) along with two or three of the more elaborately advertised prophets and migratory dispensers of one faith or another. . ." Please do not continue to be displeased with this grouping, for if one finds a rascal here and there among these leaders, often one is impressed with the real worth of some individual like Bishop Crowdy. I anticipated that there were divisions among the holiness and pentecostal groups similar to those in the denominations when I wrote that "beyond the strong individual cult denials of a unity of ideals are similar aims and purposes." You seem to understand what I mean when you admit that the cults exist ". . . evidently (because the established churches) have lost sight of the needs of their members. . ."

On a recent visit to Durham, Elder Michaux took exception to my calling his movement a cult but otherwise commended my article. You say as much without any commendation. True enough I referred to this whole movement as cults but sometimes as "Religious Bodies" or as "the Negro's attack upon organized Christianity." Your religious group is "respectable" enough to be included in the Census of Religious Bodies, but there it is incorrectly classified. Because your church like the Pentecostal Assemblies is interracial I remarked in paragraph two that "it would seem, therefore, that some holiness and pentecostal churches. . . have organized, shall I say 'Christian churches'"? Inasmuch as your church has worship patterns which differ markedly from those of the historical churches, I designated it a cult but also said: "Mark you, Christianity itself and all evangelical denominations were once cults." I believe that if "the religion and worship" of your church was not, as you say, "as orthodox (and conservative?) in the principles and teachings of Christ as . . . the Baptists, Methodists, or other recognized religious denominations," your church would be greatly helped. Probably your "orthodoxy" and adherence to the Jewish Old Testament account for the fact that you only enroll 6,000 members at present. I repeat: "The cults and not the denominations point out directions for organized religion to take."

Secondly, I appreciate all that you say in reference to the statement that "cult leaders are not degreed clergymen but are former cooks, etc." Nevertheless, the real thought is gotten when you add the first sentence: "Simplicity distinguishes the cults and might as well characterize the churches. Cult leaders are not degreed clergymen, etc." You do violence to the import of the words "the cult places of meeting are tents or 'storefronts' or other plain audience rooms." That sentence begins thus: "Unlike the worship places of many of the local churches, the cult places of meeting, etc." According to the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, May 27, 1935, "the Church of God and Saints of Christ has gone so far (in its simplicity) as to have no instrumental accompaniments to its music. . ."

Thirdly, Bishop Crowdy, the founder of your church, wrought a good work. He rests upon his record and need not arise to defend his church at this hour. Though "arrested 22 times, six times for insanity," Bishop Crowdy is the type of a "crazy" leader who has much to teach the established churches. We need more "crazy" leaders, particularly of the type of Jesus and Paul.

Finally, when Bishop William H. Plummer defended his alleged sensuous living against a Rev. Mr. Yancey of Connecticut, the report of the defense in the Norfolk *Journal and Guide*, May 3, 1930, carried this statement: "(At Belleville) we will all work, go to school, church, play, and do the things that any family does on a small scale. There are no direct wages, but nobody wants for anything essential to comfort or happiness." So my article stated that the Belleville headquarters were "more or less communistic," that is, the "saints" there had things in common. This issue of the Norfolk *Journal and Guide* stated that "there are four tennis courts," at Belleville, "with a spacious grandstand, and an excellent baseball diamond, with covered grandstand, where Belleville's famous team plays every Sunday." Knowing also that you are a member of the Board of Directors of the Hunton Branch of the Young Men's Christian Association of Norfolk, Virginia, I sincerely regret that I included your church's interest in athletics in the statement that "all popular amusements are taboo." Please excuse this oversight, for I was thinking of the diversions which I named.

MILES MARK FISHER

Durham, N. C.

The True Church

To the Editor of THE CRISIS:—One does not need a great depth of historical knowledge, especially pertaining to religion, to be able to see the mess Brother Fisher is trying to get us into.

Should we attempt to read from cover to back through both new and old testaments of the Bible, we would never find the name of any of the great movements of Catholicism, Protestantism or cults to which Brother Fisher referred. In referring to the church Jesus Christ established, it was often called the Church of God. Then if this be the only name mentioned, where do we get the names of our other different confusing faiths and creeds? This same Bible tells us—one faith, one baptism and one body, one trinity spirit over all.

Since religion has become a real business of a meat and bread affair with most ministers and still with the higher ups, a big car or great wealth, then the question is a fair one to ask: "Do ministers desire that God's will be done and that their people should know the truth?" Does Brother Fisher mean to display to the readers of THE CRISIS Magazine his efficient knowledge as a writer, or to have us see him as a "rebuilder" by this great exposition on the subject of religion in such a charming manner of fancy journalism which he employs in this article? In obtaining such wide knowledge did he learn anything about the rise of Protestantism? If he did he knows the why and wherefor of the present unrest in our religious institutions. But judging from the tone of his writings, let us say that he is at least honest in his opinions and decisions.

If the above assertions are true, then we conclude that Brother Fisher would not even be interested in knowing the true foundation of any of the church movements.

We are sorry, Brother Fisher, that you seem not to understand that the darker nations of the earth, who have been misled and debauched by this false religion and false prophets, have found out that there is something seriously wrong in religion somewhere and these new religious movements on their part, are their answers to the Saviour's call to come out of Babylon.

Our ministers are building great kingdoms for themselves, leading the people astray with false doctrines. If you wish the truth of the Church of God, you should seek it. This church is lifting up Christ as the only remedy for a world peace and as the only salvation of men.

E. BRAXTON

Chicago, Ill.

The study of cooperative purchasing by Negro consumers in Harlem is being promoted by the Department of Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Anti-lynching Bill Now in Senate

The passage of the Gavagan Anti-lynching bill by the House on April 15 by a vote of 277 to 119 put the question of a federal anti-lynching law squarely before the Senate.

In the Senate the anti-lynching bill is known as the Wagner-Van Nuys bill, S.1709.

It is believed that there are enough votes in the Senate to pass the bill if it can be got to the floor. In order to speed the bill to the floor, it is necessary that the people of the country write their senators asking them not only to vote for the bill when it comes up on the floor, but to see the leaders in the Senate and assist in bringing it up for a vote at the earliest possible moment.

A speaking tour covering approximately a dozen cities will be taken by Congressman Joseph A. Gavagan and Walter White, N.A.A.C.P. secretary. The purpose of the tour will be to arouse new sentiment in support of the anti-lynching bill and to urge people to insist upon a vote in the Senate.

Auto Workers' Union Against Jim Crow

In reply to a letter of inquiry from the N.A.A.C.P., Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, has written that his union, a part of the C.I.O., will not tolerate segregation and will fight for the rights of Negro workers in every way.

The N.A.A.C.P. letter was written because reports had come to the national office that Negro workers were being omitted in the seniority rule sought by the union in its bargain with the Chrysler Corporation. There was also a report that the union was proceeding to organize separate Negro locals among the Ford employees.

"With direct reference to the two instances where the color line seems to have been raised in the U.A.W.A. let me say that in the Chrysler Corporation seniority applies to all employees regardless of race, color or creed, and the rumor that Ford Negro employees have been called together in separate groups seems to be entirely without foundation.

"The U.A.W.A. is very emphatic and pronounced in its attitude on the matter of color lines. We stand for the full protection of the Negro worker by the union in every way. We also do not believe in, nor will we stand for, the establishment of separate Negro locals.

"The U.A.W.A., along with the Committee for Industrial Organization is very anxious to collaborate in erasing from the minds of the workers of this country the prejudice arising from race distinctions. Our program comprehends the elimination of prejudice as well as discrimination and proposes to protect the Negro workers with the full strength of our union."

Ohio Civil Rights Law is Amended

The Ohio legislature on April 13 voted 108 to 2 to amend the State Civil Rights Law so as to include retail stores and all other places of public accommodation as being required to serve all persons regardless of race or color.

In the general language of the statute the words "store or other place for the sale of merchandise or any other place of public accommodation" were inserted. The word "air" was also inserted in the sentence dealing with transportation.

The move to have the legislature amend the law became necessary when the Cuyahoga County court of appeals last year reversed the ruling of a Cleveland municipal court which had awarded a colored woman damages because she had been refused service in a dress shop located in the Terminal Tower Building. Attorneys in the suit for the colored plaintiff were Chester K. Gillespie, president of the Cleveland branch of the N.A.A.C.P., and Norman L. McGhee, of the branch's legal staff. The amendment was sponsored by Senator Keith Lawrence. An unusual support was given it by Democratic leaders in the upper and lower houses.

Chicago Branch Presses Civil Rights Cases

Under the vigorous direction of the Chicago branch several civil rights cases are being pressed. There have been several complaints against Goldblatt Brothers department store in the Loop refusing to serve colored people in their ninth floor restaurant. Two colored shoppers, one the wife of a well-known attorney, were refused in the ninth floor dining room on March 13 and the branch, through attorneys Z. T. Braden, James G. Lemon and Harry Gibson, applied for warrants for the arrest of Maurice Goldblatt, one of the owners, and Edward Gordon, one of the managers. A. W. Weinstein, attorney for the store, appeared in court and made an impassioned speech declaring it was not the policy of his store to discriminate and assuring that no such attempt would ever be made again. He volunteered the pledge that the store would donate generously to all colored charitable organizations which applied to it. The two women finally withdrew their application for criminal warrants, but damage suits for $2,000 each will be filed against the store. A third damage suit will be filed in behalf of two other colored women who were refused in the restaurant in March, also.

The Harding Restaurant company paid a considerable sum in damages to two colored women who were denied service in the company's cafe at 206 W. Washington street last year. They filed suit under the Illinois civil rights law and the company attorney, realizing that a judgment was inevitable, proposed the settlement. It was accepted.

Attorneys for the Fred Potthast Restaurant in W. Van Buren street settled a civil rights suit for cash, including the court cost after Judge Edward B. Casey had indicated that the evidence showed a clear violation of the civil rights law and that his finding would be in favor of the plaintiff. The case, which was handled by William H. Temple and Sidney A. Jones of the legal redress committee of the Chicago branch, developed the fact that a colored couple had been told by a waiter that they could not sit in the dining room of the restaurant, but would have to go into the bar room.

The operator of a drug store at 43rd and Drexel Boulevard and a waitress employed by them who were recently arrested for refusing to serve two colored women cups of coffee at the drug store soda fountain, demanded and are to receive a jury trial. In addition, civil suits have been filed in behalf of each of the plaintiffs. The women charge that when they asked for coffee at the counter they were told they would be served it if they would take it outside and drink it.

The branch is also considering ac-

tion against Harry J. Weiss, a south side food merchant, who is said to have written a letter to a colored woman in the neighborhood threatening to "get her husband's job in the post office" if she did not cease her efforts to organize the residents of the community in support of the Shorter grocery store (colored-owned).

Southern Branches Hold Conference

The branches in the central southern states held their second annual regional conference, April 22-25, in Atlanta, Ga. Delegates were present from five states. The general work of the association was discussed but particular attention was paid to problems of colored people in the regions covered by the conference. The principal speaker for the closing mass meeting, April 25, was Charles H. Houston of the New York office. A more detailed report of the meeting will appear in the June issue.

Stop Lynching Button Proceeds Near $10,000

With many reports still to be made, the proceeds from the sale of "stop lynching" buttons stood on April 22 at $9,657.77. The campaign, carried on during January and February under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, field secretary, has been called by many organizations, who conduct similar sales, the most successful volunteer button sale for a "cause" in the country. Amounts are continuing to trickle in and it is certain that the total will run beyond $10,000, perhaps, if all reports are made, to $12,000. All those groups and individuals who have made only partial reports are urged to send their money to the national office.

U. of Tennessee Case To Be Appealed

The next moves in the case of Redmond v. University of Tennessee will be to appeal the adverse decision rendered by Chancellor Bejach in Memphis, April 16, and to press new suits on behalf of other students who have applied for admission to the university.

At the trial in Memphis, March 22, the assistant attorney general, who represented the university, stated that the trustees of the University of Tennessee would close the doors of the school of pharmacy before they would permit a Negro student to register. Several Negro students who were in the courtroom and heard the assistant attorney general make that statement, declared that if that was the attitude of the trustees of the university, they were going to apply not only to the pharmacy school, but to all the other professional departments as well.

Chancellor Bejach decided that Redmond's suit had been filed prematurely; that although the University of Tennessee registered white foreigners as well as white students of Tennessee in the school of pharmacy, and the state offered no pharmaceutical instruction to Negro citizens, nevertheless, no constitutional right guaranteed by the Fourteenth amendment had been violated.

He further held that the state of Tennessee did not discriminate against Negroes in education and even held that there was no discrimination in teachers' salaries. He stated that if Redmond's rights had been violated, his remedy was not to ask for admission to the school of pharmacy of the University of Tennessee, which was reserved for white students, but to apply to the state board of education for relief. The Chancellor did not indicate what form of relief Redmond should ask for. Tennessee has no scholarship provisions for Negro students, so that although the state is educating hundreds of white students in pharmacy at state expense, it makes no provision for pharmaceutical instruction for Negroes either at an institution within the state or by scholarship outside the state.

William B. Redmond is a citizen of Tennessee, a graduate of Tennessee State Agricultural and Industrial College at Nashville, and owner of two pieces of property on which he pays taxes which help to support the University of Tennessee. Nevertheless, he gets no benefits from these taxes by way of professional education through the state. His application for admission to the school of pharmacy of the University of Tennessee in January, 1936, was rejected by the dean on the ground of color. Redmond appealed to the president and board of trustees of the university without results. A suit for mandamus was filed in the Chancery court of Shelby county, at Memphis, April 29, 1936, to compel the dean of the school of pharmacy to consider his application without regard to race.

Branch News

MEETINGS

Teacher addresses branch. The **Newark, N. J.,** branch was addressed by Miss Pansy Borders, visiting teacher in the public schools, on March 16. The meeting was held at the Urban League. The new president is Mrs. Anna Monroe.

Elks sponsor program. The **Licking, Ohio,** branch met March 18 in the Shiloh Baptist church. Members of the Moundbuilders Elks lodge and daughter Elks were in charge of the program.

The **Roanoke, Va.,** branch held its regular meeting, March 11.

Debating team discusses issues. The **Charleston, W. Va.,** branch had the debating team of West Virginia State college as its guest at a meeting on March 14 at St. Paul's A.M.E. church. The team discussed the Supreme court issue. A musical program was a feature of the afternoon.

The **Beacon, N. Y.,** branch met March 12 at the home of Mrs. Lena Jackson.

Youth leader addresses meeting. The **Muskogee, Okla.,** branch heard Miss Juanita Jackson, secretary of the youth work of the N.A.A.C.P., March 9. The meeting was held at Ward chapel A.M.E. church. Another speaker was Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the *Black Dispatch*. The president of the branch is Cecil E. Robertson.

Youth director speaks. Miss Juanita Jackson, special assistant secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., gave a talk before the **Holdenville, Okla.,** branch March 10 at the Mt. Olive Baptist church. Parent-Teacher associations and missionary societies that have recently been studying Negro problems were given special invitations to the meeting.

Youth secretary speaks. Miss Juanita Jackson in charge of youth work for the N.A.A.C.P., addressed a **Seminole, Okla.,** audience March 13 at the municipal auditorium. The meeting was organized by the local branch of the association. Herb Chase, in behalf of the city, made the address of welcome. Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the *Black Dispatch*, introduced the speaker. The Douglass high school band of Wewoka presented a program, and musical selections by the Booker Washington high school glee club were heard.

Public is invited. The monthly meeting of the **White Plains, N. Y.,** branch was held March 21 at the Y.M.C.A. The Rev. James W. Parish of Port Chester was the guest speaker at the meeting to which the public was invited.

WPA director speaks. A public meeting of the **Elizabeth, N. J.,** branch was addressed by C. A. Alexander, director of WPA work in Newark, on March 21. Dr. J. T. Davis, president, was in the chair.

Advantages of membership discussed. The **Hackensack, N. J.,** branch appointed the following temporary officers at a meeting on March 23: chairman, Charles H. Bullock, Jr.; secretary, Miss Nena E. Frances, and treasurer, Mrs. Joseph Pysor. The nominating committee which reported at the meeting April 2, was made up of Dr. E. F. Askew, chairman, and Eugene Morrow, Miss Charlotte Banks and Dr. F. L. Walker.

The meeting which was held at St. Cyprians church for the purpose of reorganization, had James E. Allen, president of the **New York City** branch, as guest speaker. Advantages of belonging to the N.A.A.C.P. were pointed out.

Senator addresses branch. The **Omaha, Nebr.,** branch had a mass meeting March 21 at Zion Baptist church. Speakers were state senator John Adams, Jr., and a former state representative. The presiding officer was the president, Dr. Wesley Jones.

Players are guests at dance. The **Wilmington, Dela.,** branch held a benefit dance March 12 in the ballroom of the National theatre. The members of the cast of "Ghost Train," were guests of the branch

following the play, at a dance for which the following persons were patrons: Mr. and Mrs. Burnside Anderson, Dr. and Mrs. Leon V. Anderson, Dr. and Mrs. Conwell Banton, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Bell, Mrs. Beatrice Berryman, Miss Anna F. Bordnax, Dr. and Mrs. Foster M. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. J. Thomas Burge, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Curtiss, Mr. and Mrs. John Davis, Mr. and Mrs. St. Julina De Costa, Mr. and Mrs. George E. De Mar, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Dorrell, Mr. and Mrs. James E. Dorsey, Mr. and Mrs. James A. Gardiner, Mr. and Mrs. Gomaster T. Gilbert, Dr. and Mrs. L. Douglass Giles, Mr. and Mrs. Jerry Harmon, Mr. and Mrs. Patrick J. Harris, Dr. and Mrs. William W. Henry, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Hill, Dr. and Mrs. John O. Hopkins, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert H. Huston, Dr. and Mrs. F. T. Jamison, Mr. and Mrs. George A. Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Horace Lawson, Mr. and Mrs. William L. Mabry, Mrs. Mamie Mason, Dr. and Mrs. A. Roland Milburn, Mr. and Mrs. James Murdah, Dr. and Mrs. Harvey A. Murray, Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. O'Neal, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Overall, Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Simms, Mrs. Blanche Stubbs, Dr. and Mrs. George J. Sykes, Mrs. Nellie B. Taylor, Mrs. Helen W. Webb, Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher, Mr. and Mrs. Theodore, Mr. and Mrs. John H. Woodlen, Mr. and Mrs. James Lee Wynn, and Mrs. M. Leila Young.

Enroll charter members. The **Keokuk, Ia.**, branch met March 22 to reorganize and elect permanent officers. The meeting was held in Bethel A.M.E. church. Fifty-one charter members were enrolled and a goal of 300 was set. The new officers are: W. W. Gross, president; the Rev. Lewis A. McGee, vice-president; Mrs. Selby Johnson, secretary; Mrs. Alice Mills, assistant secretary; Mrs. R. E. Bunn, treasurer. The branch selected an executive board and set up a department to be known as the Race Review. Speeches were made by John H. Grigsby, Mrs. Selby Johnson and George W. Snoddy.

The N.A.A.C.P. auxiliary of the **Morristown, N. J.**, branch met at the home of Mrs. Lester W. Graddick, March 9.

Hold anti-lynch meeting. The **Jamaica, N. Y.**, branch held a meeting March 12 in the Allen M.E. church to urge the passage of the anti-lynching bill. Several interracial speakers were heard. Mrs. Estelle Williams, president, introduced the speakers.

Observe National Negro health week. Dr. Peyton Anderson, Harlem physician, was the principal speaker at a meeting sponsored by the **Jamaica, N. Y.**, branch April 12. The meeting was organized to observe national Negro health week.

The **Springfield, Ill.**, branch had a meeting March 1 at Douglass community center. Dr. D. E. Webster presided.

Attorney addresses meeting. Charles H. Houston, counsel for the N.A.A.C.P., spoke before the **Trenton, N. J.**, branch February 28 at the First Baptist church. His subject was "The Struggle for Sovereign Rights."

Report on sale of buttons. The monthly meeting of the **Newport, R. I.**, branch was held February 22. A report on the sale of the "Stop Lynching" buttons was heard and the new officers were installed by the outgoing president, Leroy Williams. They are: James Suggs, president; Miss Aria Carson, vice-president; Linwood Faison, treasurer, Mrs. Frances King, secretary; Mrs. Jennie A. Bailey, assistant secretary. The executive board members are: James H. Burney, Leroy Williams, Miss Deon Jackson, Miss Sadie Brown, Mrs. Inez Tinsley, James Carson and Richard W. King.

ON TO DETROIT!

If your branch has not done so, please make plans now to send delegates to the annual conference in Detroit, Michigan, June 29-July 4.

Pledge support of anti-lynching bill. The **Plainfield, N. J.**, branch heard the mayor of the city denounce lynching at a meeting held on February 28, in Calvary Baptist church. Mrs. Anita S. Quarles, a member of the Common Council, pledged her support of anti-lynching legislation. Thurgood Marshall, assistant counsel of the N.A.A.C.P., also spoke.

The members of the **Media, Pa.**, branch met in the Wesley A.M.E. church at Swarthmore, March 2. The speaker was Mrs. Alice West.

Director addresses group. Dr. N. C. McPherson, director of the division of ministerial education of the Methodist Episcopal church South, and member of the board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P., lectured before the **Lynchburg, Va.**, branch March 10, at the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A.

Welfare program discussed. The program of welfare legislation before the state assembly was discussed by the **Wilmington, Del.**, branch at a meeting held in the National Theatre, March 9. The Rev. Arthur R. James presided.

Activities planned. The **Newburgh, N. Y.**, branch met March 22 to discuss future activities.

Educational meeting held. The **Pueblo, Colo.**, branch met March 7 in St. Paul M.E. church. The membership drive was discussed and several addresses were given. "The Negro, Past and Present," by the Rev. S. H. Bigson; a paper by Mrs. Herman Mize on national defense; one by Miss Thelma Biffle, and vocal solos by Mrs. H. A. Rogers and songs by a sextet under the direction of Melba Croom, made up the program.

It was reported that the state legislature had passed a memorial resolution to Congress urging passage of the anti-lynching bill. The president, R. C. Martin, also reported that no discrimination had been shown in the trial of Willis Wynn charged with murder.

Youth delegate speaks. The members of the **Hartford. Conn.**, branch heard William Taylor, a delegate of the national youth congress, at a meeting on March 9 at the Women's League Community House.

Hospital situation discussed. A report on hospital opportunities for colored doctors and patients was given at a meeting of the **Cleveland, Ohio,** branch March 8. The choice of having a branch of City Hospital or a hospital financed and staffed by colored persons was discussed.

Youth secretary speaks. Drumright, Okla., citizens heard Miss Juanita E. Jackson, youth work secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., at a meeting March 5 at the First Methodist church. She also addressed the young people at Dunbar school in the afternoon and the senior branch of the N.A.A.C.P. early in the evening.

Educational committee sponsors program. William Pickens, director of branches, lectured before the Springfield, Ill., branch April 2 at St. John's A.M.E. church. A musical program of vocal and piano selections was given by Mrs. M. N. Neely and Miss Edna Crosslin.

Officers elected. At a meeting of the **New Orleans, La.**, branch which was held March 24 at the public library, the following officers were elected: W. S. M. Banks, president; Arthur Mabry, vice-president; Inez Jenkins, secretary; Irene Williams, assistant secretary; Floyd Sandel, treasurer; Herman Saul, assistant treasurer; Alberta Duncan, chairman of the advisory committee and John Lee, chairman of the program committee. The guest speaker was Miss Juanita E. Jackson, youth secretary of the N.A.A.C.P.

A mass meeting to secure new members was held March 28 at Mount Zion M. E. church at which Miss Jackson addressed the audience. Other speakers were: George McDemond, Romeo Garrett, Dr. P. P. Creuzot, James La Fourche, St. Clair Drake and A. E. Perkins. James E. Gayle presided.

Journalist addresses members. George S. Schuyler, writer and lecturer, addressed the **Stamford, Conn.**, branch, March 19, at Elks hall. He spoke on current topics and activities of the N.A.A.C.P. A resumé of the work of the Racial Council was given by the Rev. Joseph Dzvonchik.

The following officers were installed by Leo C. Smith; president, Mrs. Ruth Nicholson; vice-president, Mrs. Rhoda Page; financial secretary, Mrs. Rectina General; treasurer, Randolph Maize and chaplain, the Rev. D. D. Davis. Chairmen of the subcommittees are: the Rev. Davis, membership; Dr. A. N. Grant, publicity; Randolph Maize, legal defense; Dr. J. L. Carwin, education and entertainment, Mrs. Daisy Pelham.

It was reported that the signatures of 480 residents were signed to the petition sent Congressman William Citron in favor of the anti-lynching bill.

Speaker urges equality of opportunity. Dean William Pickens addressed the **Indianapolis, Ind.**, branch meeting, April 1, in the Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A. Arthur W. Womack, president, was chairman of the meeting.

Free clinic opened. The **Jamaica, N. Y.**, branch observed National Negro health week, April 11 to 18, by having a free clinic and exhibits at the various churches.

On April 11 sermons on health were heard. April 13 motion pictures on cancer were shown at Shiloh Baptist church. Sesrun Club nurses sponsored the program April 15 at Allen A.M.E. church. The health exhibits were displayed at this church during the week.

A mass meeting April 12 had Dr. Margaret Barnard as the principal speaker. Others who spoke were Dr. Peyton Anderson, specialist from Harlem hospital, and Dr. John A. Singleton, president of the branch. The presiding officer was Miss Elizabeth W. Johnson. The invocation was given by the Rev. J. W. Routte and the benediction by the Rev. Edward E. Tyler. Members of the committee sponsoring the program were: the chairman and president and Frank M. Turner, secretary; the Rev. Edward E. Tyler, Mrs. Beatrice Parker, Dr. Eugene Brandon, Dr. Harold Edgehill, Dr. Charles M. Reid, Miss Bebe L. Hyslop and Mrs. Lora Lewis.

Celebrates anniversary. The **Brevard County, Fla.**, branch gave a banquet in February to celebrate the 27th anniversary of the N.A.A.C.P. and the second birthday of the branch's existence. Elmer Silas,

chairman of the board, gave the address of welcome. A recital of "The Negro Mother," by Charles Mae McCurdy, and a summary of the accomplishments of the association by H. T. Moore, the president, made up the program. The Rev. L. M. Moore, president of the A.M.E. State Sunday school convention, spoke of the worth of the organization and praised the local branch for its work. He stated that Bishop Grant has issued a mandate that all A.M.E. ministers in Florida must join the N.A.A.C.P. and pay their poll taxes. Mr. V. G. Rogers, vice-president, presided. The chairman of the banquet committee was Mrs. N. N. Gilbert.

CAMPAIGNS

Explains Redmond case. The **Memphis, Tenn.**, branch organized a mass meeting, March 21, to hear Charles H. Houston, attorney for the N.A.A.C.P., speak on the William B. Redmond case. Mr. Utillus Phillips, president, officiated and M. S. Stuart, a member of the executive committee, introduced the speaker.

Reorganize branch. A meeting to revive the **Houston, Texas**, branch was held March 21 at the St. John Baptist Church. The speaker was Miss Juanita E. Jackson, of the national office staff. C. F. Richardson was master of ceremonies and William Sublett and G. Duke Crawford helped to organize the meeting.

Campaign ends with meeting. The Roanoke, Va., branch finished its button selling campaign with a mass meeting at the First Baptist church, February 28. A pageant was given by the members of the youth council, following a speech by the Rev. A. L. James.

Send letter of appreciation. William T. McKnight, vice-president of the **Toledo, Ohio**, defense fund campaign, recently sent a letter of thanks to the staff of the *News Bee* expressing the appreciation of the branch for the publicity given the "Stop Lynching" button sale.

Membership drive. The executive committee of the **Augusta, Ga.**, branch reported at a recent meeting that the drive for new members is making progress. J. J. Sturkey brought in 27 members, 15 of whom are new. The campaign is being directed by Father Dukes. W. C. Ervin, president, was the first member enrolled. Among those who joined during the first week were: W. H. Mays, J. S. Perry, R. C. Williams, S. B. Thomas, E. Y. Lowe, Philip Waring, Father Dukes, Julian Collins, Ed. L. Simmons, H. Ferguson, W. T. Keigler, J. J. Sturkey, J. T. Taylor, G. Yancey, the Rev. I. J. Yancey, J. P. Waring, L. S. Belcher, L. B. Harris, W. Drayton, J. K. Nolan, B. S. Drayer, M. D. Drayton, Charlie Blackstone, L. Blackstone, R. E. Yeldell, and C. Toney.

The branch is sponsoring a public high school for Negroes, paving of certain streets, more jobs for Negroes, and more registered voters. The seven committees carrying on this and additional work are: educational, paving, registration, beautification, press and publicity and entertainment.

Congressman pledges support. Henry Williams, secretary of the **Duluth, Minn.**, branch recently received the assurance of Congressman J. T. Bernard that he would support the Gavagan anti-lynching bill. All Duluth organizations were asked to wire the Minnesota congressmen to support the bill.

The branch begins its membership drive in May.

Appreciation expressed. A letter of appreciation for publicity given their style show was sent recently to the Beacon *Journal* by the **Akron, Ohio**, branch. The letter was signed by Hosea Lindsey, president, and Sega Fleming, secretary.

The branch announced it will conduct its membership drive beginning May 1 and ending June 1.

PROTESTS

Attempt to end resettlement plans protested. Officials of the **Portsmouth, Ohio**, branch in letters to the citizens' rehabilitation committee and the city council objected to the effort to table the colored resettlement projects. They declared that all of the 1,900 colored citizens were hard hit by the flood. The signers of the letters were Solomon Biggs, the Rev. B. L. Brantley, the Rev. J. H. Smith, J. H. Setzer and C. J. Fleming.

Demand retraction of slur. Members of the **Jersey City, N. J.**, branch met April 1 in Calvary church to protest against Mayor Hague's charge that a tubercular Negro girl had spread the infection to 79 of her classmates. Dr. Keith Madison explained that such a statement was absurd. Others who joined in the discussion were: the Rev. Edward P. Dixon, the Rev. C. M. Kirkpatrick, and Dr. James Stroud. Dr. Euclid Ghee, Robert S. Hartgrove and Dr. Lena Edwards urged moderation, declaring they did not believe the mayor intended any slight.

CAMPAIGNS

New members admitted. The **New Orleans, La.**, membership meeting held April 7 brought in nearly 200 new members. The place of meeting was the Autocrat club. Among the speakers were: Herman A. Washington, Dr. P. P. Creuzot, J. B. LaFourche, Emile Le Bat and Ernestine Dunn.

The branch, in telegrams to congressional leaders, urged the passage of the Gavagan anti-lynching bill.

Membership drive begun. A campaign for new members was started by the **Cambridge, Mass.**, branch, April 7, with a mass meeting at the Union Baptist church. The principal speaker was Miss Juanita Jackson of the national office. Others were the Rev. Jeffrey Campbell of New York, Mayor John D. Lynch, Irwin T. Dorch, Ray W. Guild, Miss Zara DuPont and ministers of the city. Members of committee in charge of the drive are: Mrs. Edna Jones, chairman; Miss Pearline Frederic, Mrs. Susan W. Cox, Mrs. Mary Eubanks, Mrs. Anna Bisbee, Mrs. Margaret Cotten, Mrs. Mary Rollins, Mrs. Nellie Harris, Mrs. Susie Brown, Mrs. E. T. Morris, Mrs. Matthew Coles, Samuel Williams, the Rev. Samuel O. Weens, the Rev. James Mitchell, Henry Harris, Wallace Thompson and Nathan Cotten.

Victory dinner ends drive. A meeting and dinner on April 4 marked the end of the **Pueblo, Colo.**, branch drive for new members when 82 names were added to the rolls. The meeting took place in the afternoon at Bethlehem Baptist church. The victory dinner followed at the home of Mrs. Charles Ferhand.

Speakers at the meeting were the Rev. Theo R. Jones on "The Negro in the Trend of World Affairs," Miss Ruby Walker on "Are We Yet Free?" and Mrs. Zelma O. Benford on the N.A.A.C.P. A chorus, directed by Mrs. H. A. Rogers, sang and V. G. Curry was the soloist.

The **Mobile, Ala.**, branch, through J. L. LeFlore, secretary, made a vigorous protest to the secretary of the navy on the discrimination against colored visitors to the submarine *Perch* during its recent visit to Mobile. The branch charged that officers and sailors on the *Perch* were refusing to allow colored people to inspect the submarine except during certain limited hours "for colored." After a protest to officers of the boat and a letter to Secretary Swanson, the restriction was removed.

The **Tacoma, Wash.**, branch was able to marshal more mass protests than ever before to the Washington legislature on the anti-intermarriage bill. The protests were in such volume that the sponsor of the bill withdrew it. Both colored and white groups, especially youth groups, protested and ridiculed the bill which is introduced at almost every session of the legislature. The recent bill was inspired by the report of a marriage of a white girl in Seattle to a colored man.

The **Chester, Pa.**, branch has launched an extensive campaign to foster civic betterment in the community. Following monthly meetings, pertinent topics were presented, after which lively discussions took place. Findings of these discussions were crystallized in form of committees instructed to act. A picketing committee will picket a theatre practicing discrimination tactics; a housing committee was appointed to arouse delinquent housewives in the care and beautification of the home and environs through propaganda and visits.

Anti-lynching campaign buttons were enthusiastically received by the group and a fair degree of success was achieved. This fiscal year is being marked by an increased membership.

Press Comment

(*Continued from page* 143)

way to bring security to the persons of hapless victims. All of which may sound very well, but nothing like so effective as the ferreting out of a few mobsters by Uncle Sam's G-men and their subsequent arraignment in Federal court.

Columbia, S. C., *Record*

In 1935 there were seven lynchings in Mississippi, preeminent that year in mob murder. . . . The lynchings Tuesday near Duck Hill, Miss., of two Negroes accused of murder was therefore what might have been expected. Mississippi has done nothing to discourage lynching. . . .

State rights cannot be reduced to two —the State right to appeal to Washington for Federal aid and bounties and the State right to do nothing about lynchings.

Brooklyn, N. Y., *Eagle*

More and more it is becoming apparent that some such Federal action is necessary if this relic of barbarism is to be stamped out. It will be hoped that enlightened Southern opinion will urge its representatives in Congress o support this needed reform.

N.A.A.C.P. Youth Council News

Detroit Preparing for Youth Conference

Youth councils and college chapters all over the country are making special preparations to send delegates to the annual conference in Detroit June 29–July 4, but their activities are being matched by the Detroit youth councils who are busy preparing to stage a large successful conference and in addition entertain the delegates in royal fashion.

There are four units in the youth council of Detroit: North End, East Side, West Side and Birdhurst. The West Side unit held a dance March 31 to swell its conference entertainment fund. The West Side Council on April 7 launched a membership campaign under the leadership of John Benson seeking 500 additional members. The scheme of dividing the youth councils in Detroit into geographic areas so far has proved a successful one. It has given opportunity to more persons for leadership posts and has recruited more members than could be reached by one central organization.

YOUTH COUNCIL NEWS

Miss Jackson made a tour of Oklahoma from March 1-15. Since her return applications have been received for charters from Chickasha, Idabel, Muskogee, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, McAlester and Langston University. The **Tulsa, Okla.** youth council held its first mass meeting April 18, as part of its Vocational Opportunity Campaign. Its members are making plans for sending delegates to Detroit June 29-July 4 to the annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P.

Langston, Okla. college chapter has written the Scottsboro boys and sent them magazines, pictures, etc.

Newark, Ohio got off to an early start to raise funds to finance delegates to the Detroit conference by giving a dance. Plans are now being completed for a graduation program and dance to be given early in June. Twice a month they hold open forum on subjects dealing primarily with Negro history which is stimulating attendance among the young people and adults. On April 18 the group went to Columbus, Ohio to hear James Weldon Johnson lecture.

The **Albany, N. Y.** youth council held its first dance of the year February 15. It helped swell the "On to Detroit" fund. Dean Pickens, director of branches, was principal speaker at their protest meeting held February 18 at the Community Center. Local speakers were Executive Secretary Rappaport of the American League Against War and Fascism; Mrs. John Wright who witnessed the Springfield, Illinois riots of 1908 and 1909; William Bradt and Rev. Cutten, pastor of Madison Avenue Baptist church.

The **Columbus, Ohio** youth council made up its program for March and April including March 2: Debate on Supreme Court Proposed Changes; March 9: Musical; March 16: "Is Christianity What We Want?"; March 23: Civil Liberties—Shows and Restaurants; March 30: "Young People at Work in the Church"; April 6: Venereal Diseases—Observance of Negro Health Week; April 13: Birth Control. Dr. Manuel and Dr. Giles discussed the subjects for April 6 and 13 respectively. The local problem they plan to attack will be admission to theatres and restaurants of Columbus.

The **Richmond, Va.** youth council has launched what it terms a "Convention Membership Drive." It hopes to secure at least 200 members during this campaign. The person bringing in the highest number of members will be guest of the council at the conference in Detroit.

Cleveland, Ohio hopes to enlist by May 16 at least 500 young people in their program of promoting good will throughout the city and furthering the cause of minority groups. Its schedule of meetings includes April 4: Supreme Court discussion led by Miss I. Menifee, Social Studies teacher at Kennard Jr. High School; April 18: Professor J. J. Rogers of Oberlin College will discuss "Spain's Fight for Democracy"; May 2: Charles E. Ozanne, Fenn College, will speak on "Parapsychology"; May 16: "Vocational Guidance"; June 6: Curtis Garvin, National Negro Congress, will talk on "Labor and the Negro"; the June 20 meeting will be a musical tea.

A fine panel discussion of the proposed changes in the Supreme Court was held at the March 27 meeting of the **Boston, Mass.** youth council. The speakers were Seaton Manning, chairman; Charles Quick and William Woodward of Harvard law school, Mike Ransom of Boston University law school and Ralph "Fats" Johnson. An open discussion followed. The members of the council worked diligently in the recent membership drive under the leadership of Commander Charles Quick and Co-Commander Reynold Costa. Rev. Roger Williams had charge of the speakers assigned to cover the various churches and young peoples' groups throughout Greater Boston. Juanita E. Jackson was commander-in-chief of the drive. The drive ended April 29, 1937 with the youth council taking an active part in the program and making a creditable report.

Johnstown, Pa. youth council organized a Gospel Team at their March 23 meeting, with Irene Calloway as chairman. The youth council members will put on a play the last of May. Mrs. Leftwich will be in charge of dramatics and Mrs. Stewart, assisted by Irvin Brown, will be in charge of music and dancing. Officers for the year are Mrs. Eunice Cathey, president; Ernest Pope, vice president; Demarius Haliday, secretary; Audrey Wright, corresponding secretary and Iantha Ball, treasurer. Mrs. Cathey entertained the youth council one Saturday evening for the benefit of the "On to Detroit" fund.

Kansas City, Mo. youth council held an Occupational Conference, Saturday and Sunday, April 10 and 11 at Paseo Branch of the Y.M.C.A. John T. Clark, secretary

St. Louis youth council officers: front row, left to right: Cheerful Wynn, secretary; Enid Marshall, Juanita Jackson, of the New York office; Loretta Owens, president; Lillyan Wade, treasurer; Annie Butler, reporter; Margaret Simms. Back row: David Crenshaw, member executive committee; Fred Simms, Fern Marshall, DeClifford Scales, Thelma Watson, John Basye and the Rev. Milton Thompson, sponsor

of the St. Louis Urban League was speaker at the luncheon meeting Saturday. C. Wiliam Robinson was leader of the "Major Occupations" group with Rosetta Nolan and Charles Henson recorders. "Organized Labor" group was led by Mrs. Mary Louise Chapman with Frances Day, recorder. John Gregg was leader of the "Negro Business" group and Mrs. Lillian Burgin, recorder. Dr. Frank August acted as conference coordinator. At the dinner meeting John T. Clark spoke on the "Place of Negro in Reconstruction Program." Rev. A. R. Fox of Allen Chapel A. M. E. Church preached a Labor Sermon at 11:00 A.M. A panel discussion was held 3:00 P.M. at Centennial M. E. Church. Mrs. Helen Wilkins was conference registrar.

The **Philadelphia, Pa.** youth council of the N.A.A.C.P. was organized April 10, 1937 at the Y.W.C.A., 1605 Catharine Street, under the direction of Mrs. Annie MacDougal of the senior branch. The newly elected officers are: Miss Marian Wilson, president; Miss Gwendolyn Pascoe, vice president; Miss Anne Butler, recording secretary; Miss Evelyn Carrington, corresponding secretary; Arthur Thomas, treasurer; Miss Myrtle Henry, chairman publicity committee. Plans are being made for a sport dance to be held the second week in June.

The Titusville-Mims, Fla. youth council is making a special study of current Negro history. To stimulate this project H. T. Moore, the sponsor, is offering a prize to the one who can reproduce the most information over a period of four weeks. The young people are working in four groups: (1) The Negro in Politics; (2) The Negro in Sports; (3) The Negro in Music; and (4) The Negro on Stage and Screen. Reports are made at each meeting. At the last meeting readings from Negro authors were rendered by Olivia McCurdy, Jessie Godboldt, and Annie Bell.

Sterilization

(*Continued from page* 137)

lies who cannot afford automobiles.

The open class basis for this proposal may appear to be a radical deviation from the present use of sterilization as an eugenic measure. As a matter of fact, such action would be an extension of a measure that is already of class origin. An examination of the sterilization laws that exist in thirty of our states prove this. Applicable chiefly to the mentally deficient, the insane, and in several states, to "habitual" (second or third-time offenders) criminals, perverts, drug addicts, and even to prostitutes, these laws have been enacted mostly in times of severe economic crises and during the periods that have immediately followed them. Economic stress occurs because of differences between capital and labor, and the working class is effected more than any other. The unfortunate victims who fill the state institutions far beyond their capacity come chiefly from this class. And the compulsory laws to sterilize apply only to state, not *private*, institutions. The therapy of the knife is not forced upon the wealthy.

Since the depression, there has been a rapid increase in the number of operations. Prior to January 1, 1933, the total numbered 17,898 for a period of twenty-six years. The succeeding three years showed an approximate increase of *one-third* of this total in the number of new operations. This is probably due to two major factors—the depression has resulted in a larger number of institutional inmates, and other states have passed laws.

Negro Will Bear Brunt

Regardless of the form that sterilization takes, whether it continues to remain an "eugenic" measure, or whether it is used to annihilate entire populations, the Negro will bear the brunt. Victim of exploitation, terrorism, and racial prejudice, denied almost the right to live, he is made the goat for every form of social injustice that manifests itself. Even under so-called eugenic sterilization, the Negro bears mute witness to the status forced upon him by society; for he fills his quota in the state institutions. One is inclined to be surprised at the statement of E. S. Gosney, president of the Human Betterment Foundation, when, after a survey of operations performed in southern California, he declared: "Certainly one would not have anticipated that the Negroes would be found to be receiving their share of sterilization with such extraordinary exactness." (The Human Betterment Foundation, Collected Papers on Eugenic Sterilization, 1930).

Another danger confronts the Negro in the present attempt of some advocates to make sterilization a penal measure, which would apply primarily to persons convicted of sexual offenses and murder. These are favorite charges used against the Negro, especially in the South, as a means of whipping up hatred against him. If a Negro, accused of either, escapes the lynch mob, he rarely escapes the white man's court.

The Negro has paid heaviest toll to this "frame-up" system during the past few years, according to the International Labor Defense. This organization recently reported that twenty-one innocent Negro men are serving long-term sentences ranging from ten years to life on the usual charge of rape and murder. Fourteen of these victims, including the nine Scottsboro boys, are in the South. Several militant leaders of the sharecroppers are also included in this number. Their crime lay in defying a lynch mob.

Mass protest on the part of Negro and white prisoners in the state penitentiary at McAlester, Oklahoma, kept a law from going into effect two years ago against inmates there. But the court recently ruled in favor of the law. The only issue raised was the possible harm of the operations. The jury decided that there is none, but declared the law itself to be "not good." Six convicts, it is reported, have run away from the penitentiary because they fear the measure.

Sensational detective story magazines are aiding in the movement to sterilize penitentiary inmates by publishing editorials and articles written by law enforcement officials and others who declare that crime can be curbed by sterilization. Even most eugenists admit that sterilization has nothing to do with sexual desire, and that it merely makes reproduction impossible. But unscrupulous politicians who wish to make a splurge of cleaning up crime use the long discredited Lombrosian theory in an effort to mislead the public into making laws on the assumption that crime is inherited.

Sterilization, under a normal system, would be desirable as a strictly eugenic measure. But under a social order that is motivated by competition, it is a dangerous menace to oppressed classes and races.

Vaccine Method Recognized

The entradermal method of smallpox vaccination first used by Dr. Louis T. Wright during the World War at Camp Upton has been recognized finally as "the most efficient method of vaccination." In one experiment, the Wright method produced 96.6% "takes" whereas the old scarification method produced 48% "takes". Dr. Wright is a member of the staff of Harlem hospital, New York City, chairman of the board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P., and a fellow of the American College of Surgeons.

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Anti-Lynch Bill

(*Continued from page* 140)

Colmer, Wall Doxey, Aaron Lane Ford, John E. Rankin, William M. Whittington.

Missouri: Clarence Cannon, Richard M. Duncan, William L. Nelson, Milton A. Romjue, Clyde Williams, Orville Zimmerman.

Nebraska: Harry B. Coffee.

New York: W. Sterling Cole.

North Carolina: Graham A. Barden, Alfred L. Bulwinkle, J. Bayard Clark, Harold D. Cooley, Robert L. Doughton, John H. Kerr, J. Walter Lambeth, William B. Umstead, Lindsay C. Warren, Zebulon Weaver.

Oklahoma: Wilburn Cartwright, Wesley E. Disney, Sam C. Massingale, Will Rogers.

Pennsylvania: Guy L. Moser.

South Carolina: Hampton P. Fulmer, Allard H. Gasque, Thomas S. McMillan, G. H. Mahon, Jr., James P. Richards, John C. Taylor.

Tennessee: Richard M. Atkinson, Walter Chandler, Jere Cooper, Sam D. McReynolds, John R. Mitchell, Herron Pearson, Clarence W. Turner.

Texas: Martin Dies, Clyde L. Garrett, Luther A. Johnson, Marvin Jones, Richard M. Kleberg, Fritz G. Lanham, W. D. McFarlane, George H. Mahon, Joseph J. Mansfield, Wright Patman, Nat Patton, W. R. Poage, Sam Rayburn, Morgan G. Sanders, Charles L. South, Hatton W. Sumners, Albert Thomas, Ewing Thomason, Milton H. West.

Utah: Abe Murdock.

Virginia: Schuyler Otis Bland, Thomas G. Burch, Patrick H. Drewry, Norman R. Hamilton, A. Willis Robertson, Howard W. Smith, Clifton A. Woodrum.

Washington: Charles H. Leavy.

Answered "Present"—1

Wadsworth, N. Y.

Not Voting—34

Andrews, N. Y.; Bacon, N. Y.; Bell, Mo.; Binderup, Nebr.; Boykin, Ala.; Buckley, N. Y.; Cannon, Wis.; Carter, Calif.; Clark, Idaho; Cummings, Colo.; Eaton, N. J.; Ferguson, Okla.; Fish, N. Y.; Flannagan, Va.; Gearhart, Calif.; Gilchrist, Ia.; Goodwin, N. Y.; Greenwood, Ind.; Hancock, N. C.; Harter, Ohio; Hobbs, Ala.; Holmes, Mass.; McGehee, Miss.; McSweeney, Ohio; Parsons, Ill.; Patrick, Ala.; Pierce, Ore.; Schuetz, Ill.; Scrugham, Nev.; Sheppard, Calif.; Starnes, Ala.; Taylor, Colo.; Vinson, Fred M., Ky.; Wood, Mo.

Additional Pairs

Mr. Hamilton Fish (for) with Mr. James W. Wadsworth (against). Mr. Fred C. Gilchrist (for) with Mr. Joe Starnes (against). Mr. Charles A. Eaton (for) with Mr. Sam Hobbs (against). Mr. Harry R. Sheppard (for) with Mr. Dan R. McGehee (against). Mr. Pehr G. Holmes (for) with Mr. Frank W. Boykin (against). Mr. Dow W. Harter (for) with Mr. John W. Flannagan, Jr., (against). Mr. Charles G. Binderup (for) with Mr. Walter M. Pierce (against). Mr. Robert L. Bacon (for) with Mr. Walter G. Andrews (against). Mr. Claude V. Parsons (for) with Mr. Frank Hancock (against).

Additional General Pairs

Mr. Edward T. Taylor with Mr. Albert E. Carter; Mr. Fred M. Vinson with Mr. Philip A. Goodwin; Mr. Leonard W. Schuetz with Mr. Bertrand W. Gearhart; Mr. John McSweeney with Mr. Charles A. Buckley; Mr. Phil Ferguson with Mr. Fred Cummings; Mr. C. Jasper Bell with Mr. D. Worth Clark; Mr. Arthur H. Greenwood with Mr. Reuben T. Wood; Mr. James G. Scrugham with Mr. Luther Patrick.

Abyssinia

(*Continued from page* 146)

creating the impression among the Abyssinians that Italy had abandoned her traditional imperialist designs against this country.

We shall once more turn our attention from Africa to the European scene, and make a cursory review of events which occurred on the continent between 1933 and 1935. For it was these happenings which made it possible for Mussolini to steal the Abyssinian pawn away from England. The drama which opened in Berlin ended in Addis Ababa. The emergence of Fascism in Germany in 1933 had a tremendous effect upon the whole European situation. Overnight, as it were, the whole international situation changed, bringing about a realignment of forces. Faced with the threat of war from across the Rhine, France turned towards Italy for assistance against Germany, and as a *quid pro quo* agreed to relinquish her interests in Abyssinia and support Italy in grabbing the long fought-for pawn from England.

From this moment, Abyssinia's independence was doomed. For Haile Selassie, having placed the destinies of his country in the hands of the League of Nations was in a less favourable position to maneuver than Menelik in 1896. Had there been no League of Nations, Abyssinia would have stood a better chance of escaping from the clutches of Italy by pursuing her traditional policy of playing off one Power against another. Instead of looking to Geneva for protection, she would have given more attention to her military defence. Furthermore, the dilly-dallying tactics of the League facilitated Italy's preparations, while leaving Abyssinia exposed to her enemy.

The diplomatic stage having been set by the Pact of Rome, signed on January 7, 1935, the Duce at once proceeded with his military preparations, which culminated in Italy's invasion of Abyssinia in October, 1935.

We shall later on deal with the final phase of this great betrayal and examine the role played by Britain, France and the League of Nations, the custodians of "Collective Security" and the rights of small nations.

The next installment, which will appear in the June issue, will be entitled "Abyssinia Betrayed by the League of Nations."

Book Reviews

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF SOCIALISM by John Strachey. Modern Library, New York. $1.00.

John Strachey in his book "The Theory and Practice of Socialism" has portrayed a new economic system familiar to some of us, but unfamiliar to the many. He has painted a vivid picture of the social, political and cultural aspects of the American and English capitalist systems. He has shown the fundamental values of the capitalist system, as well as its manifold weaknesses. In doing so, he has not failed to point out the decadence and the basic causes for the decline.

He has also painted a picture of the socialist system of production for use in the Soviet Union, contrasting this new virile system with that of its contemporary, the capitalist system, for profit. No one who understands the basic causes of the crisis in the greater part of the world today can fail to see the theoretical advance that has been made in the presentation of Marxism.

The process of democracy of which capitalism is but a stage, is destined to be superseded by socialism and communism. Whether this change should come about through transition or through revolution has been left unanswered. The basic thesis shows that capitalism is functionally incompetent. The reviewer, however, disagrees with this thesis and would place the ideologic as primary and the functional as secondary.

It is paradoxical yet true that capitalism, with all the advantages it has brought mankind, is no stronger than the theories upon which it is built. The failure to correctly interpret the dialetic process in the evolution of society has led to the functional incompetence of the system.

Imperialism or finance capital has been well analyzed. I do not, however, agree with his solution of building up capitalist states in the undeveloped countries. If capitalism cannot solve its problems in the well-organized states in which the rulers are monarchs of the seven seas, how much more unlikely it will be for small states to function successfully under a system where the desire for profits must necessarily keep the standards of the workers at a low level in order to pay exorbitant rates on loans? There is more to be gained by all concerned by setting up socialism in all countries, since the faster rate of development will raise the ideologic and economic levels of the now oppressed, thus creating a demand for industrial goods.

The book is well written, the analyses are masterly and timely. The writer shows a keen perception of society as it exists and is a beacon light in a stormy sea.

No one with a hazy knowledge of contemporary civilization should fail to read the book.

REUBEN S. YOUNG, M.D.

ALL WHITE AMERICA by T. T. McKinney. 214 pp. Meador Publishing Co., Boston. $2.00.

Dr. McKinney describes his book as "a candid discussion of race mixture and race prejudice in the United States" and his thesis is that the "Race Problem" is to be solved

(*Continued on page* 158)

PAY DAY

By L. D. REDDICK

Where are the men of yesteryear
who kept the faith? Fathers sure their
children's child, at least, would end the race
Hurrah! — democracy's acclaim and well-deserved embrace.

Where are those words the speakers said?
"Be calm, be true, down with your bucket.
Education! — save — take the little risk."
Straightway their sons were sent—Tuskegee and to Fisk.

Where are those nights of time-toiled care?
weak jaws relaxing daily smiles and
throats pinch-parched from insults gulping down.
The evening tears dript moist to palms that frown.

Where are those graves, as time moved on,
of him and her who died too soon?
The damp night work — "my son's schooling" — tender-mother mate
just would not spare the doctor's call — until too late.

And where the college days? Rippling laughs, happy books
and Children's Child shaking fast his clean young limbs
across the football field . . . . From the chapel seat
heard again words that cheered his father's heart to double beat.

Where are they now — O promises from New England's hall to warm Gulf sea?
Still, dead-end road; separating wall — Speak nation! Speak democracy!
Why don't you answer deed with deed? Humble-enough hopes have watered unkept word.
Children's Child now must be answered — or will be heard!

Pushkin

(*Continued from page* 144)

the fire ships and was one of those who saved himself from a ship which was exploded. In 1770, he captured Navarin;[11] in 1779, he built the city of Kherson. His regulations are respected until the present day in the southern regions of Russia, where in 1821 I saw old men who cheerfully honored his memory. He quarreled with Potiomkin.[12] The Czarina acquitted Gannibal and put on him the Alexander[13] ribbon but he left service and since lived most of the time in Suida respected by all renowned men of the glorious age, among them Suvorov[14] who in his presence would quit mischief-making and whom he received without covering the mirrors and without observing any such ceremonies. The real name of my grandfather, Osip Abramovich, was Yanuarii, but my great grandmother (a Swede by birth) did not consent to call him by this name, which was difficult for her German pronunciation. "Short, short"[15] said she, "makes me black children and gives them devilish names."

My grandfather served in the navy and married Maria Alekseyevna Pushkin, the daughter of a Tambov commander, the brother of my father's grandfather (the second cousin of my mother) and this marriage was an unhappy one. The jealousy of the wife and the inconstancy of the husband were the cause of aggravations and quarrels, which ended in a divorce. The African character of my grandfather, the flaming passions united with extreme lightmindedness, led him to great blunders. He married another woman presenting a false certificate on the death of the first. My grandmother was forced to send in a petition to the empress, who with great interest intervened in the case. My grandfather's new marriage was announced unlawful; my grandmother had her three year old daughter returned and my grandfather was sent to serve in the Black Sea navy. Thirty years they lived separately. My grandfather died in 1807, in his Pskov village from the consequences of intemperate life. Eleven years later my grandmother died in the same village. Death united them. They rest side by side in the Svyatogorsk Monastery.[16]

[11] A fortified Turkish port captured in 1770 by the Russian navy headed by I. A. Gannibal.
[12] Potiomkin-Tavricheski, Grigorii, Count (1739–1791) commander-in-chief, co-worker and favorite of Catherine II.
[13] The order of St. Alexander Nevski worn on a ribbon over the shoulder.
[14] Suvorov, A. V., Count (1730–1800) general field marshall, the greatest Russian military leader.
[15] Short instead of chort (devil).
[16] In the government of Pskov.

New York Women Aid THE CRISIS With Benefit

The New York Crisis Committee, a group of women organized one year ago for the purpose of assisting THE CRISIS financially and otherwise, gave a benefit matinee dance, February 28, and turned over to THE CRISIS the sum of $135. The chairman of the committee is Miss Lucile Armistead; secretary, Miss Louise Logan; treasurer, Miss Alice V. Simms; chairman, sponsors committee, Mrs. Sarah Dunstan; chairman, entertainment committee, Mrs. Rae Olley Mills.

Since its organization, the committee has secured more than sixty persons as sponsors and associate sponsors of the magazine who contribute annually a sum in excess of the annual subscription price in order to help THE CRISIS out financially. The sponsors pay $5 a year and the associate sponsors, $3 a year. The margin above the subscription price goes into THE CRISIS treasury. In addition to these sponsorships and the money raised at the matinee dance February 28, the committee raised approximately $100 at a Cotton Ball given last July. THE CRISIS expects to present pictures of sponsors, associate sponsors, and officers of the committee beginning with the June issue.

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Book Reviews

(*Continued from page* 156)

ultimately by race fusion. In the meanwhile, he insists upon the essential intellectual and moral equality of the Negro and the white and he pleads eloquently for the fair treatment of the Negro. Unfortunately, his conclusions are based upon assumptions for which no accurate data are submitted. Some of our best anthropologists are in accord with Dr. McKinney's conclusions; they differ, however, as to the time when complete amalgamation will have taken place. The dean of American anthropologists once told this reviewer that race amalgamation was certain, "surely within 80,000 years." Eloquence and oratory are hardly the most effective weapons to be used in the interim.

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN

I AM THE AMERICAN NEGRO by Frank Marshall Davis. 70 pp. Black Cat Press, Chicago. $1.50.

The author's first book *Black Man's Verse* deservedly drew high critical praise from the reviewers and many of us thought we saw the emergence of a poet of authentic inspiration. To these, his present volume will be a disappointment. It shows too many influences and the last part too obviously derives from *Spoon River Anthology*. Mr. Davis displays intelligence, eloquence, passion and some poetic sensibility; he has still to learn that smartness may shock and entertain some of his readers, but that it is not the stuff of which poetry is made. *Epater les bourgeois* is too easy and pleasant a sport; it rarely results in a work of art. A.B.S.

Elected to Union Post

Miss Edith Ransom, of New York City, was elected in March to the post of business agent of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Local 22. This union has a membership of about 30,000 of whom 2,200 are colored women. On the executive board, which directs the affairs of the union, are three colored dressmakers, Ethel Atwell, Eldica Riley and Bertha Edgecombe. The official delegation of Local 22 to the ILGWU convention contains three colored members, Clarissa Bostic, Bertha Edgecombe and Gloria Garcia. Local 22 has long been known for its policy of absolute racial equality.

New Picture Magazine

A new picture magazine named *Flash!* has been started in Washington, D. C., by a group of young men. It is a weekly selling for 10¢. The first number appeared March 6. The editor is Dutton Ferguson; associate editor, Robert G. McGuire, Jr.; technical assistant, George T. Greene, Jr.; advertising manager, William G. Black; assistant advertising manager, Lyman V. Williams.

Mrs. Charlotte Dett Dies

Mrs. Charlotte Dett, mother of the nationally known composer, R. Nathaniel Dett, died at her home in Niagara Falls, New York, April 8. Mrs. Dett was 75 years old and during her life time was an active leader in fraternal, civic, political, welfare and social circles.

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